

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 183 669

UD 020 292

AUTHOR Toft, Carolyn Hewes, Ed.
TITLE The Hill: The Ethnic Heritage of an Urban Neighborhood.
INSTITUTION Washington Univ., St. Louis, Mo. Social Science Inst.
SPONS AGENCY Bureau of Postsecondary Education (DHEW/OE), Washington, D.C. Div. of International Education.
PUB DATE Nov 75
NOTE 43p.; Not available in paper copy due to colored background. For related documents, see UD 020 288-291. Prepared through the Ethnic Heritage Studies in Urban Neighborhoods Project.

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Church Role; *Community Development; Cultural Background; Economic Factors; *Ethnicity; Ethnic Studies; *Italian Americans; *Local History; Political Influences; Religious Factors; Social Life; Voluntary Agencies
IDENTIFIERS *Missouri (Saint Louis)

ABSTRACT

This booklet, designed for both students and community members, provides a history and current description of The Hill, an Italian American community in St. Louis, Missouri. The history of Italian immigration is reviewed, with a focus on agricultural and economic conditions in Italy from 1850-1900. The social life, housing, and occupational conditions encountered by the early immigrants to St. Louis are also described. The role of the Catholic Church in The Hill's development is emphasized, as are the importance of family and cultural traditions and the role of anti-Italian sentiment in other areas of St. Louis for maintaining cultural cohesiveness and isolation among The Hill's residents. The period from World War II until 1960 is described as one of acculturation and economic development for the community, but also as one of disintegrating ethnic identity. Since the 1960s, however, it is shown that political, economic, and environmental influences have contributed to the revitalization of this Italian American neighborhood. Photographs and maps are included in the booklet.
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FEB 11 1990

THE HILL

the ethnic heritage of an urban neighborhood



ED 103669

UD 020 292

NOVEMBER 1975

The research and preparation of this report were made possible through a grant from the Division of International Education of the United States Office of Education under the Ethnic Heritage Studies Act of 1974-75.

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For sale at the Social Science Institute, Box 1202
Washington University, Saint Louis, Mo. 63130

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COVER -5105 Pattison, THE HILL
measured drawing by Joe Bilello
scale: 1" = 100 ft.

the hill: the ethnic heritage of an urban neighborhood

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Prologue

This story of three generations begins in Italy. It tells how a small number of Italians huddled in an area near the western limit of St. Louis and established a community that still thrives. It notes changes, records struggle, and promises hope. This unfinished story is about an urban village called The Hill in the process of shaping itself as American and Italian.

The Hill is geographically well-defined: on the north by a valley of railroad tracks; on the east by Kingshighway, Carondelet Foundry, Owens-Illinois, and Eaton Corporation; on the west by January Avenue, union offices and large companies; and on the south by Southwest Avenue and a collection of small firms — service stations, auto repair shops, the Southwest Bank, a bowling alley, lounges, the old Columbia Theater. From the western edge of The Hill on Southwest, you can see the Gateway Arch on the riverfront. The Hill is a small mountain with functional borders: a wall of industry and a gate of commerce inviting the unfamiliar visitor to pass through.

The streets are narrow, lined with cars; traffic slow, drivers are courteous. As you weave and work your way through tight spaces, you answer a wave by a smile, and you feel welcome. You discover a Protestant Evangelical church, a “bocce” alley called Rose’s, an Italian-American newspaper office called *Il Pensiero* — The Thought — and consider entering, buying an Italian magazine, talking to the editor. You note the austere facade of The Family Theater, the marble columns of the Riggio Building; you see Big Club Hall and think of weddings, dances, and wonder what happens in that little office called Hill 2000. You find import stores, bakeries, a restaurant on nearly every block. A bus slips by; Interstate I-44 hums in the background. On The Hill much can be done on foot; these streets were made for walking, strolling, greeting.

Macklind divides the residential architecture. On the east are the older homes — dark red brick, narrow, flat-roofed, close together; they look sturdy, solid, of an earlier time. On the west are the newer homes — lighter brick, of bungalow or ranch-style design — built perhaps in the fifties and sixties. Here and

there a balcony emerges, an entry of decorative tile, a garden. Potted geraniums are frequent; you note front yard Madonnas, a back yard St. Francis. An old man, in white shirtsleeves, sits on a front porch; an old woman, in thick stockings, sweeps a sidewalk. A husband mows his lawn with an electric mower, his wife trims a hedge; boys play soccer in the schoolyard of Shaw. A young man hits a baseball at Berra Park where the sculptured smile of “Midge” reminds you that politics is personal. You see a nursery, Sacred Heart Villa, and look for a high school. All is neat, orderly, in good shape. Little is gaudy or flashy; much is durable. You detect great pride. This is a people’s neighborhood, a home for all ages.

At the intersection of Marconi and Wilson sits St. Ambrose Church. It is an imposing structure; much money and care has formed this lovely work of red brick and terra cotta. The campanile rises above a hair-styling salon, a lounge with outdoor garden, and a real estate and insurance firm. People live above. Three pineapples of stone grace the roof of the salon; a belfry and two elegant oval windows adorn the lounge, a decorative border tops the agency. You are at The Hill’s center: here business, family and church meet. You feel you are in a square; were The Hill not so densely populated and tight-spaced, you might have found a piazza. This is an intimate place, and St. Ambrose, named after the Bishop of Milan who was acclaimed pastor by his people, broods monumentally over all.

At the northwest corner of St. Ambrose a sculpture, *The Italian Immigrants*, captures your attention. It is bronze, molded from the hardness of that cold and lonely moment when the immigrant, silenced by the barrier of language yet determined to hope and to work, arrives at the shore of an undetermined future. You look again, trace your steps, and think: Here in this place, this neighborhood, determination bore fruit. And you feel that the sculpture is The Hill’s statue of liberty calling its people to remember their past and be free. And that its people, like the brave men and brave women this sculpture recalls, have a past to hold and a future to shape and to give. And you ask: How did it all begin?

background-italy

The Italian immigrant left his homeland for a variety of economic reasons.

The place where I was living was all poor people, most all farmers, but not farmers who say, 'the ground is mine, I do what I want with it'. All the big padron' . . . over there in the place so many years ago, there was three Counts . . . over there in the place I was raised everybody had a house, ground, a barn with cows, but everything all belonged to the big-shot, and nobody could buy because they would never sell it. And you had to pay rent, you got to work just like a slave . . . really, really poor . . . you can't buy something, you have to stay all the time in the same little place. (H-12)

The agricultural economy of 19th century Italy was essentially feudalistic in structure. Controlled by nobles and landed gentry known as "aristocratici" in the North and "signori" in the South, the inequities of the social structure were consistently more pronounced in the South. Absentee landlords became typical as the Bourbon kings called the local barons to the court in Naples. In their absence, there developed a class of "lesser gentry" composed mostly of professional men, officials, and merchants who carried out the demands of the "signori" in exploiting both the land and the peasants who often earned less than two lira a day. These landless peasants, known as "contadini," comprised over two-thirds of the population of Sicily. For a brief period, many a family in Sicily was forced to indenture its sons to work in the sulphur mines of their island homeland.

Southern Italy and Sicily were characterized by mountainous terrain and rocky soil aggravated by a dry climate which made the land suitable for only a few crops and the most primitive forms of agricultural techniques. Between 1855 and 1873 secularization and subdivision of church lands caused massive deforestation and so affected the flow of streams that irreparable damage was done to the soil. The topsoil was washed from the hills, and the stagnant pools which formed in the once fertile valleys created the breeding ground for the malaria epidemics which brought death to 21,000 in Italy in 1887 and over 300,000 cases of infection in 1905. The contadini were forced to live in small villages high in the hills and commute each day to the fields.

The rich agricultural area of the Po Valley and its favorable climate made the North more suitable for cultivation. Because of its regular supply of water from the Alpine lakes and its subsequent industrial uses, the North was the first area of Italy to become industrialized. The cities of Milan, Turin, and Genoa became important trade centers and were supported by good railroad systems and the great ports of Genoa and La Spezia.

Although historically the Northern province has fared politically and economically better than the South, the oidium and phylloxera of 1850 nearly destroyed the vines of Lombardy. Only a resistant breed of silkworm imported from Japan prevented a disease infecting the silkworm from destroying that industry native to the North.¹

Unification of the Italian peninsula in 1861 perpetuated the advantage of the North. Revenues from disproportionate land taxes and commercial tariffs levied on the South were funnelled into the growing industrial areas around Milan. In the single decade between 1861-1871, Italy increased its total population by one-fourth, from 20 million to more than 26 million. Overpopulation and agricultural depression, coupled with poor living and working conditions, forced entire districts of 19th century Italy to migrate or face starvation.

It is estimated that by 1924 over 16 million Italians had emigrated since the unification of Italy in 1861 when for the first time cheaper steamship passage made mass emigration a realistic alternative. Before the 1890's most of the Italians emigrated to Europe and South America. These early emigrants were predominantly from the northern sections of Italy and many had acquired skilled crafts. The province of Friuli was noted for training its young for temporary employment in the emerging industrial labor markets of northern Europe. Many skilled laborers left Italy to work in the mining areas of France and Germany, as well as in the vineyards of southeast France. It was, in fact, the Italian migration of the 19th century that established the French city of Marseilles.

My father came from a small town about 30 miles from Milan. Milan was more industrial—but they were from this small town here where there was mostly more silk factories and stuff like that, where the men had to leave to get work. My father came here to seek a better life, and, when he got here, he had it better over there than he found it here. When he was sixteen or seventeen he traveled over there. He had worked in Switzerland, he had worked in France, he had worked in Germany. He had done everything. He had worked in the mines, in the foundries, anything. (H-9)

A large number of northern Italians, predominantly Venetians, Piedmontese, and Lombards, went to Argentina and Brazil. It is estimated that between 1857 and 1914, 2.2 million Italians emigrated to Argentina and 1.3 million to Brazil. Although 50 per cent of these emigrants returned to Italy, this movement constituted the largest permanent resettlement of Italians prior to 1900. At the turn of this century, Italians comprised one-eighth of the total population of Argentina and one-third of the Brazilian state of Sao Paulo. Exact figures for permanent emigration are not available since temporary migration of an annual nature, typical of the European movement, was not uncommon even to South America. "Golondrina" became a descriptive name for the Piedmontese peasant who would leave

Italy after the fall harvest for the wheat, flax, and cornfields in Cordoba and Buenos Aires and return to Italy in the spring.

I was born here in 1897, down on Manchester. My parents came in 1895 from Milano . . . had two brothers and two sisters, but my brother and sister that were born in Italy, they died, before my mother and father came back here and my sister was born in South America. They stayed in Buenos Aires I think for a year. My sister was around thirteen months when they went back to Milano and here to St. Louis. My brother got very sick and so we went back to Milano. I think I was about seven. We only stayed for nine months. My father came back here alone to work. I think he worked at Winkle Terra Cotta. Then my mother took us and we came back to St. Louis. (H-3)

The five-year period from 1886-1890 established a major turning point in the pattern of Italian emigration. Although there was a sharp increase in emigration to all areas of settlement, it was the first time that the flow to the United States exceeded that to Europe. This shift not only was to a more permanent migration but also represented a dramatic shift in the place of origin of the migrants. From the decade of the 1890's until World War I, the heaviest emigration to the United States was from the South of Italy—most heavily from the provinces of Sicily, Campania, and Basilicata.

During this period conditions in Italy were so bad that the Italian government encouraged many young men to emigrate not only to ease the problem of overpopulation but also to channel the money earned by the immigrant into the Italian economy. Southern Italians, mostly skilled, began to fill the need for laborers in construction and heavy industry in many of the rapidly growing urban areas in the United States. Four-fifths of the Italian immigrants settled in cities primarily in the Northeast and Middle Atlantic regions.

TABLE I. Foerster, "The Italian Immigration of Our Times"

Year	Number of Italians in the U.S.
1850	3,645
1860	10,518
1870	17,157
1880	44,230
1890	182,580
1900	484,027
1910	1,343,125

In 1910, with over 340,000 Italian immigrants living within its city limits, New York City had more native-born Italians than any other city in the world except Naples. In the same year 72,000 Italian immigrants, mostly from Southern Italy, were living in Chicago. In addition the coal fields of Southern Illinois had attracted 18,500 immigrants, the largest concentration of Northern Italians in the United States. St. Louis, with fewer than 10,000 Italian residents, ranked twelfth among American cities which were to become new homes for the Italian immigrants.

There is evidence of an Italian population in St. Louis as far back as 1850. The United States census figures for the whole state of Missouri list 124 Italians in 1850, 554 in 1860, 936 in 1870. We may presume that nearly all these Italians were residents of St. Louis, because 879 Italians were living in the city in 1880 out of a total of 1,074 for the state.² The first group of Italians was predominantly Genoese. They came over in small numbers, established businesses and were easily assimilated into the community. Nonetheless, some of this group began the Societa Unione e Fratellanz Italiana in 1866 with the knowledge, as the organization's *Historical Review* says, "that if they banded themselves together into an organization, they might help and assist one another more profitably." The "Fratellanza," one of the earliest societies founded in the United States by Italians, is still active today.

background-saint louis

Cheltenham, often called Sulphur Springs, was an enormous piece of land west of Grand Avenue absorbed by St. Louis in the boundary expansion of 1876. This was the little valley of the River Des Peres stretching southwesterly from Forest Park to Knox Avenue. The most prominent feature of the valley was its westward bend at Sulphur Avenue where Sulphur Springs welled up through the banks and bed of the stream. The history of Cheltenham, however, dates back to 1798 when Charles Gratiot received this land (presently bounded by Kingshighway, Big Bend Road, Pernod Avenue, and the South side of Forest Park) from the Spanish Governor-General of New Orleans. Not long after this acquisition, Gratiot began to sell parts of his immense tract. Soon a number of good-sized farms and estates appeared in the Cheltenham area.

By 1837 an abundance of useful clay had been discovered which was eventually to transform the rural atmosphere. In 1844 a group of Quakers from England established the first factory for the processing of Cheltenham clay products. The Mitchell Clay Manufacturing Company, located on Manchester west of Sublette, began operations in 1857. Around this time veins of soft coal were also found in the area.

On December 9, 1852, Cheltenham received a further impetus to its industrial expansion: the Pacific Railroad completed a five-mile track from St. Louis to Cheltenham. This was the first railroad west of the Mississippi and the beginning of a line from St. Louis to the Pacific coast. The Cheltenham Station, located on the north side of the Pacific Railway between the tracks and New Manchester Road, was a frame building with a pitch roof serving only passenger traffic.

In 1853, a group of 200 French Communists led by Etienne Cabet, famous French lawyer, politician, writer, and propagandist, arrived in Cheltenham. Cabet, at one time considered the most feared man in France by King Louis Philippe, brought his group of followers to the United States; and, after several attempts at establishing a Utopian society in Texas and Illinois, they settled in Cheltenham. His group, known as the Icarians, purchased 28 acres of ground on Wilson Avenue east of Sulphur for \$25,000, on which they made an \$8,000 deposit. The Icarians erected a spacious stone building, which was used as a community center, and several small log cabins. The Cheltenham community enjoyed such cultural advantages as an orchestra, theatrical group, and library. Cabet died in 1856, but the settlement of Icarian Communists lasted until 1864 when the community, aggravated by malaria, internal dissension, and great financial indebtedness, was forced to disband.³

The area to the northeast of the Icarian settlement in the 1860's was basically farmland owned by various families including the Halls, the Januarys, the Whites, and the Sublettes. The Sublette brothers, William and Solomon, were members of one of the big fur companies in St. Louis and maintained a collection of wild animals on their property both as an advertisement for their furs and also as an exhibit for the young children of the Cheltenham area. William Sublette, the oldest brother, married Miss Francis Hereford from Alabama. When he died in 1845 he left his fortune to his wife on the condition that she would not change her name. After a period of mourning, the widow married Solomon Sublette. She had not changed her name and was thus entitled to retain the older Sublette's estate.⁴ After the death of Mrs. Francis Hereford Sublette in 1857, the Sublette property was divided. In 1868 St. Louis officially recognized the area bounded by Kingshighway, Bischoff, Macklind, and Northrup as Fairmount, an incorporated subdivision of the city.

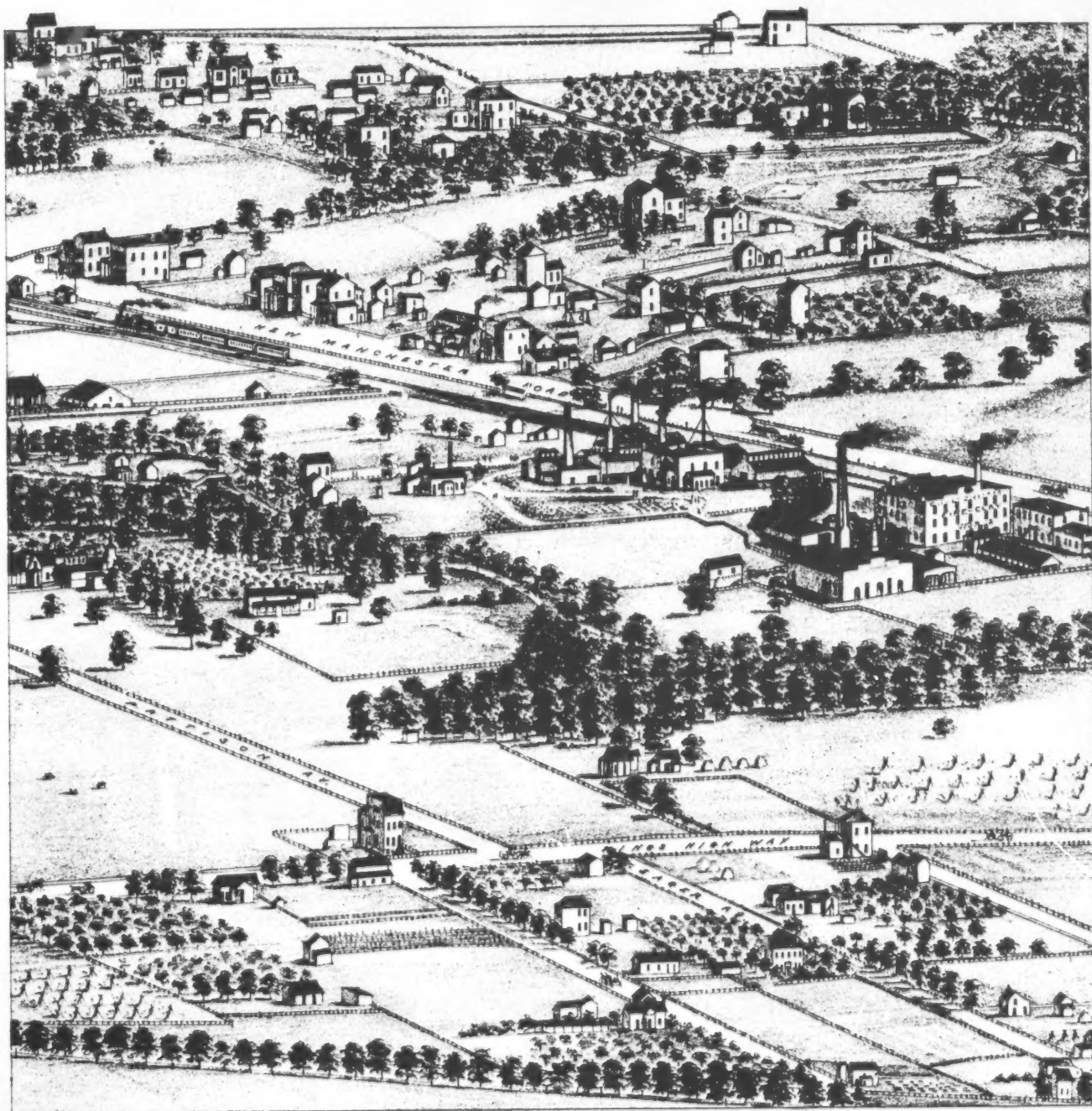
After the opening of the railroad, Irish and then German immigrants came to Cheltenham and Fairmount. Many were employed by the clay works or coal mines and others worked at the St. Louis Smelting and Refinery Company. The St. Louis Smelting and Refinery Company, located at Macklind and Manchester Avenues, gave employment to more men in Cheltenham than any other local industry in the 1870's and was responsible for bringing many Catholics to the district. The company specialized in refining crude ore from the Rocky Mountain mining companies and converting it into solid bars of gold, silver, and other precious metals.

The Irish, being predominantly Catholic, were influential in establishing St. James parish in 1860, originally a mission of St. Malachy's parish. In 1861 the first St. James parish was erected on Tamm and Wade Avenues. The Germans, who came a few years after the Irish, organized St. Aloysius parish in 1892. At first the congregation met in a house on Magnolia and Sublette. A short time later ten acres of ground were purchased on Reber Place and laid out in three city blocks. The middle block was reserved for the church; the other two were divided into lots for sale to Catholic Germans. In 1895 Protestant Germans in the Fairmount District established the Evangelical Bethlehem Church at Shaw and Hereford.

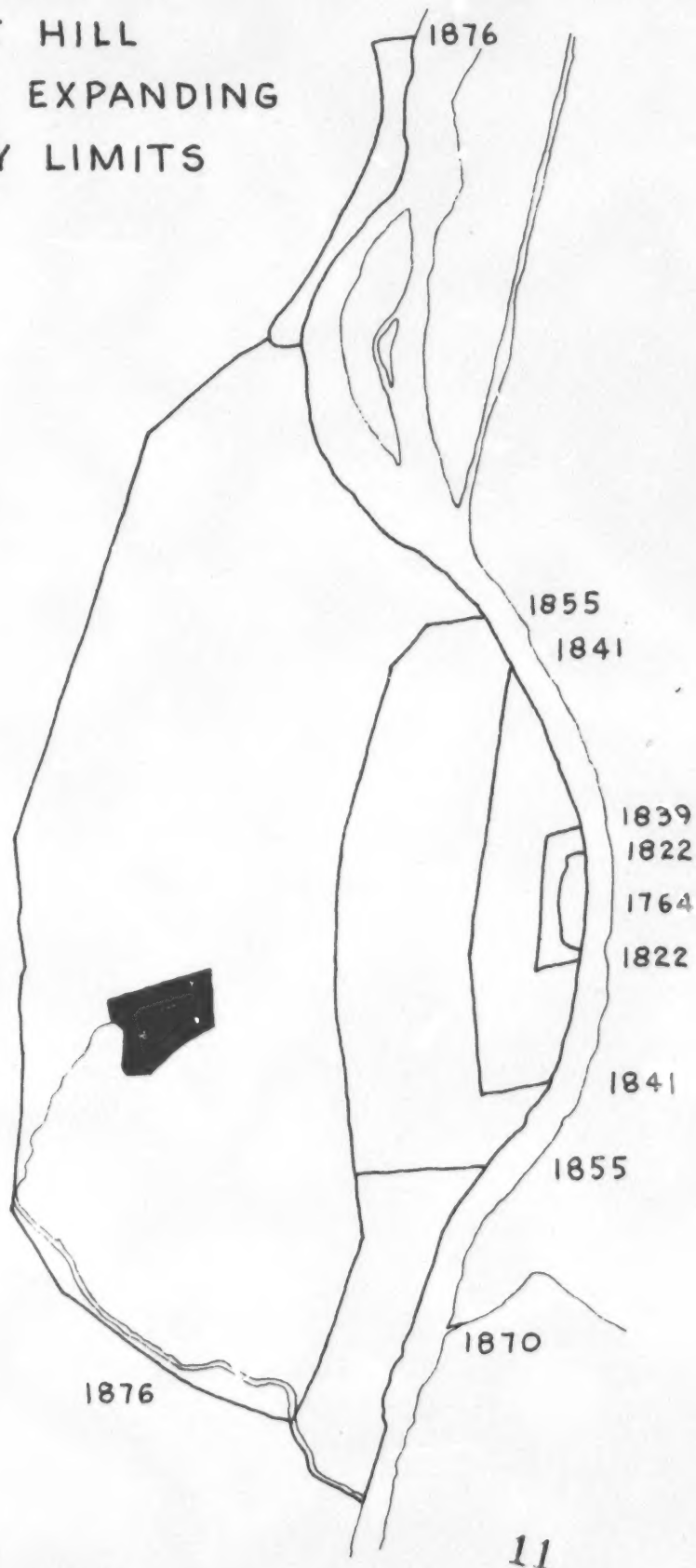
Before 1890 there was no Italian district in the St. Louis area. Early in the 1890's, however, two such areas began to develop simultaneously. One was located in an older residential section of the downtown area (bounded by Sixth, Morgan, Ninth, and O'Fallon Streets) previously inhabited by German, Irish, and Jewish immigrants. This area became largely populated with Sicilians who worked for the Genoese fruit dealers and clothing, shoe and furniture manufacturers in the downtown section. There was little or no interaction between "Little Italy," as it became known, and the other Italian settlement that developed in the Fairmount District.

By 1890 the Frisco and Missouri-Pacific railroads had completed their tracks running through the northern portion of Fairmount from St. Louis to markets in the great West and Southwest. The terra cotta, brick, and clay pit industries that were

established along the railroad tracks were now in full production. The expansion of these industries and the subsequent need for laborers occurred at the same time as the heavy Italian migration to St. Louis.



THE HILL
AND EXPANDING
CITY LIMITS



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1890-1920

Of the 1293 Italians living in St. Louis in 1890, only ten or twelve lived in the Fairmount District.⁵ These first Italian immigrants to the Hill were predominantly men from the northern part of Italy known as Lombardy. Many of these Lombard immigrants had worked in the coal and other mining areas of Herrin or Carbondale in Southern Illinois before moving to the clay mines in the Fairmount area. It is interesting to note that The Hill soon became, and remains today, one of the very few concentrated settlements of Lombards and Northern Italians in the United States. By 1900, however, the Sicilians and Southern Italians were coming to the United States in larger number than the Lombards and other Northern Italians. United States census figures for the years 1899-1910 give an admission of 6,246 Northern Italians and 12,819 Southern Italians with a destination of Missouri.⁶ The historical differences between these two groups caused a certain amount of conflict in the early years of the community.

I do know that there was tension between North and South. The Lombard and the Sicilian. This is something that myself, I'll be perfectly honest with you, I can remember in high school the fellow I used to bum around with—still my best friend today—he's Sicilian, I'm Lombard. He comes from the South, I come from the North. We used to use the words pigeon and hatchet—pigeon being North and hatchet being South—constantly. But we had no idea what it was until someone pointed it out. And we kind of looked at each other and said "big-deal." It was nothing to us.

I think that would be one of the big things right there—something that was just passed on, but I do know that second generation they still have their prejudices between the North and the South. Third generation, there's no prejudices at all. In fact, it's not even talked about. With all the people in my generation, we could care less whether a person is North or South. I think if someone would come up and ask me if I'm from the North or South, wouldn't even tell them, because it doesn't make any difference. I'm a person. I'm not from the North or South. (H-21)

As the Italian immigrants grew in number, they filled the need for laborers in the clay industries. In the 1890's The Hill was geographically isolated from the mainstream of St. Louis life. It was almost at the city's western limit, and city services such as paved streets, sewers, and street lights were nonexistent. The absence of water connections, gas, electricity and other comforts, plus the proximity to industry, made this area undesirable for the type of upper class residential use appearing on the northern side of Forest Park. Because few transportation lines were available to other parts of the city, it was necessary for the Italian immigrant to live within walking distance of work.

As was previously noted, the Fairmount District was originally a small Irish, then German, settlement. The area was still essentially rural and there were large sections of open space. As the number of Italians increased and the area began to develop, most of the Germans and Irish moved out of the Fairmount District. The German Evangelical Bethlehem Church moved from the area in 1910. A small number of Blacks, the majority of whom worked as laborers in the clay industry, remained in the area. A black school opened in 1855 at 5326 Northrup and remained until 1910. Also, a black church, the Pattison Avenue Baptist, was organized in 1897 and located at 5232 Pattison Avenue. The black church remained in the area even after most of its members no longer lived in the Fairmount District.

There was not much housing available in Fairmount at this time. The original area of development was around Pattison, Northrup and Shaw and gradually moved south to encompass Daggett, Wilson, and Bischoff between Hereford and Macklind. The area west of Macklind was still predominantly farmland. Many of the existing homes took in boarders, often seven or eight at a time. Up to 1915 the housing was of three types: single family frame shanties with three rooms; four family, two-story frame tenements; and single family one-story brick houses with four rooms. The shanties were old and in poor condition.

All those other people from the same town were coming here. I think he had another older brother that was here, and he was a sort of a bricklayer. In fact, he was living here — well, when they built these houses they were all lumber. And it's like up at the Appalachians — the coal mines up there — you see the pictures up there where it shows these homes that were built, no basements. This was all like that at one time, and all of these houses here on this hill or all over, they were sitting two feet off the ground. They jacked them up, and they put basements under there. But it was just like an early settlement like out west where they just put up shotgun houses. They were like temporary. Then people, when they started making a few more dollars, they just improved — they put front porches on, bathrooms, remodeled them. (H-9)

The tenements were not much better and were, for the most part, owned by the downtown realty companies.⁷ Many of the shanties and tenements used as boarding houses were built from the wood used for the St. Louis World's Fair in 1904. The brick homes were owned by their Italian occupants. It was characteristic of the immigrants to save their money from the brick yards and invest it in their property. A three-room brick house without gas, electricity or running water could be built for around \$500. Each group of six or seven houses had a community faucet where families got their water. Non-Italian employees of the mines and brick yards began to call this small settlement of Italian immigrants "Dago Hill."

As the Italian population of the area increased, word of the "economic opportunity" was relayed to both friends and relatives in Italy through the family and kinship networks that developed in the United States. More and more immigrants arrived as relatives already working in the area sent over money to cover transportation. Usually, the man came first and worked to earn enough money to bring over the rest of his family, although several groups of young girls came from Italy to be married to the boys from their hometown who had emigrated earlier. Other men came solely to "seek their fortune" and then return to Italy, at least for a short time. They soon realized that many of their memories were romanticized and that they could no longer conform to the class distinctions and the different modes of living in Italy. Consequently, the flow of immigrants continued, and The Hill grew rapidly into an Italian immigrant settlement.

My parents came because I happened to have an aunt here who had a grocery store. At first, my mother and dad lived with them. At that time there were a lot of people who opened their home to immigrants from Italy. They called them boarders. For a small fee of like \$15 or so per week the women would cook for them, wash their clothes, iron and everything. Every home was opened to immigrants. When they (my mother and father) first arrived, they lived with my aunt. She had a number of boarders at the time. That was on The Hill. Her store is still on Shaw Avenue. It's been in existence for about 40-50 years. (H-1)

As the Italian population of the area increased and community institutions began to develop around 1900, an Italian identification and consciousness developed as well. On The Hill, as in many Italian immigrant communities, mutual aid societies were organized to provide sick benefits and death indemnities. Members paid a certain amount per month. As Schiavo states: "The scope and function of the Italian mutual aid societies in St. Louis are not different from those of similar organizations in other parts of the country. Usually a society is supposed to be organized to keep Italians together, to maintain high the spirit of Italianity, to create numerical strength and, as a whole, to promote the welfare of Italians".⁸ These societies were usually founded on a regional basis and were composed of people from the same town or area in Italy. Several of the societies on The Hill were named specifically for towns in Sicily.

One of the most important aspects of the Italian community has been the organization, development, and influence of the Catholic Church. In 1902 there were two Italian churches in St. Louis: St. Charles Borromeo, on 29th and Locust, and Our Lady Help of Christians, on 10th and Wash Streets. There was no church near the Italian community on The Hill, and in 1903 Father Spigardi, pastor of the other two Italian churches, helped establish a mission in the basement of the German St. Aloysius Church near the Fairmount District. A drive was then organized to collect funds to erect an Italian church in the area.



credit: St. Ambrose collection

Through neighborhood solicitation and several loans, Father Spigardi succeeded in purchasing a tract of land at the corner of Cooper (Marconi) and Wilson Streets from the Anheuser-Busch Company, and the first St. Ambrose Church was erected. The frame church was dedicated August 3, 1903, and remained in Father Spigardi's parish. For the next four years, St. Ambrose remained without its own pastor; Father Russo of St. Charles Borromeo would come to The Hill on weekends to conduct services. In 1907 Archbishop Glennon of St. Louis appointed Father Luciano Carotti, a former assistant to Father Spigardi, pastor of St. Ambrose Church. On June 1, 1907, St. Ambrose officially separated from the other Italian churches and was established as an independent parish.

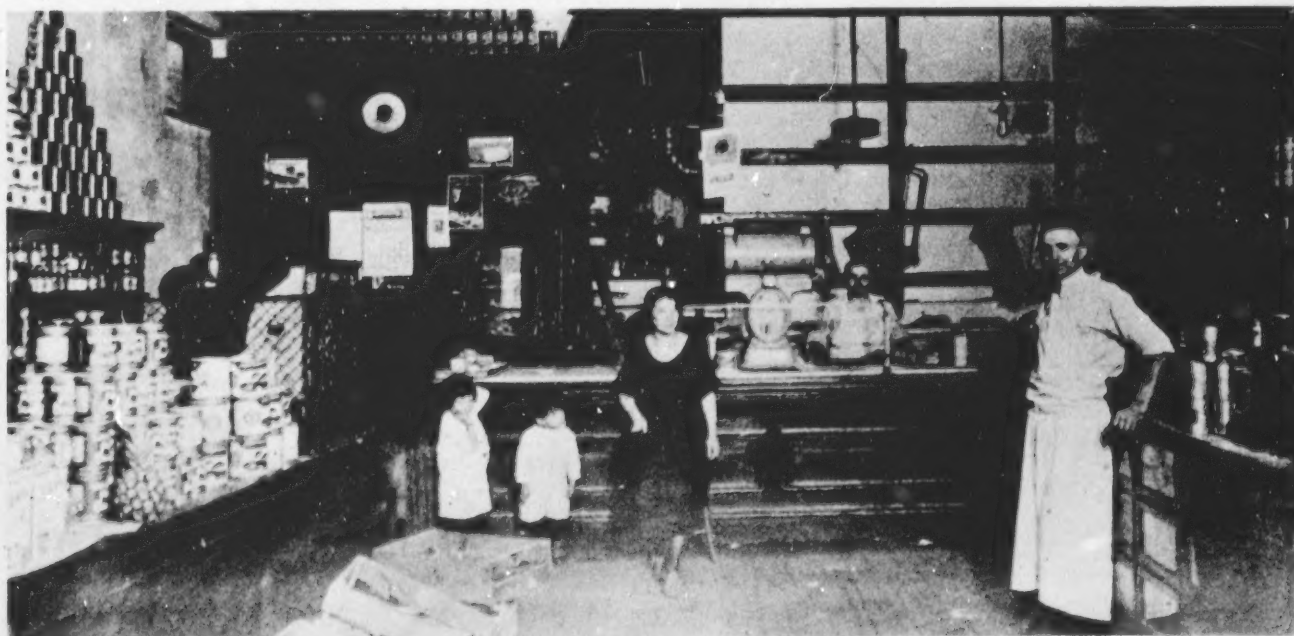
St. Ambrose Church became the most influential institution in the community. It not only gave the Italian immigrants their own place to worship but also served as a unifying force in the community by improving relations between people from Northern and Southern Italy. St. Ambrose parish established the first school in the area, and the church and school became the focal points for various social and religious institutions on The Hill. St. Ambrose School opened in 1906 at 2110 Cooper Street. A small frame building of two rooms, the school was also the home of Father Carotti. In 1907 the enrollment was 125 pupils up to grade 5; by 1918, it had risen to 551.

The Shaw School, a public elementary school located on Columbia Avenue between Edwards and Macklind, opened in September, 1907, with an enrollment of 928 pupils. In 1907 eighty-five of these students had been born in Italy. By 1914 the number had risen to 258. The students of Italian parentage, however, numbered around 900. A third school, the Wade School, was located at 2030 South Vandeventer off The Hill and had a small number of Italian students from The Hill. The language barrier and financial need prevented many students from finishing more than four or five years; often children were forced to quit and work to help support their families.

Several church related organizations began before 1920. The oldest, the Christian Mothers Sodality, was founded by Father Spigardi in 1904. Father Carotti founded both the St. Ambrose Men's Society (1907) and the Children of Mary Sodality (1912). These early societies developed strong and lasting support for the church and its pastor.

It is important to note that after the initial flood of laborers arrived in the area to work in the clay mines and brick yards, several other industries took advantage of the close proximity of the railroad yards, availability of space, and abundance of laborers and built factories in the area. The Carondelet Foundry Company, built on Kingshighway in 1890, was a manufacturer of iron and metal castings. McQuay Norris Manufacturing Company relocated on The Hill at Southwest and Cooper (Marconi) in 1919 and continued to manufacture and sell piston rings. The Quick Meal Stove Company, founded in 1881, moved to The Hill at 2001 South Kingshighway in 1910. Several Italian-owned factories began and grew during this time period as well, the two largest being Ravarino & Freschi and John Volpi. Ravarino and Freschi had started their commercial production of pasta in 1914 at 22nd and Washington. By 1916, however, they needed more room and constructed a large three story building at Kingshighway and Shaw Boulevard. The location took advantage of both the railroad lines and the growing Italian community. In 1907 John Volpi and Company was established at Edwards and Daggett Avenues as a manufacturer of Italian salami and sausage. These new industries afforded the residents more employment opportunities and enabled them to remain in the neighborhood to work. Territorially, however, these industrial sections on the north, east, and southern boundaries of The Hill acted as barriers to any interaction with the rest of St. Louis.

During the 1900-1920 period most of the small businesses on The Hill were operated by their owners and geared to meeting community needs. Grocery stores, confectioneries, taverns, bar-



credit: privately owned — copy R. A. Faber

ber shops, shoe repair, bakeries, drug stores and funeral parlors were, for the most part, started by Italian immigrants who had worked in the mines or brick yards and saved enough money to open their own businesses. Several of the larger stores — furniture and clothing, hardware, cleaners, and filling stations — were owned by non-Italian, non-community residents who seized the market opportunity offered by the growing community. Several dry goods and general stores, carrying everything from shoes to hardware, opened along Shaw Avenue in the early years of the community's development. The Rau Store opened in 1905 and Spielberg's at Shaw and Hereford shortly thereafter. Mr. Spielberg, who originally carried his merchandise through the neighborhood on his back, was known for not having a cash register in his store. All financial transactions were handled from cash kept in Mr. Spielberg's pockets.

I think the big thing that they stressed about The Hill and living down here is how much they enjoyed the companionship. Most of the older generation — the grandparents — they themselves never left The Hill for anything at all. They have everything they need down here. Walk down the street and at the end of the block you've got a grocery store. You walk down to the end of another street and you've got a clothing store. All your wants and needs would be located right in the community. (H-21)

As the population of The Hill grew, the developed areas became crowded and residential development spread to new blocks. It was not long before the residential sections of The Hill encompassed the area bounded by Northrup, Kingshighway, Southwest, and Macklind. According to U. S. census material, 995 homes were constructed between the years 1900 and 1919 on The Hill. Whenever a new block developed, a tavern or grocery store opened as well, and almost every corner had its own tavern and store which the residents of that block would patronize. Many of the groceries were established on a cooperative basis; prices were cheaper and customers could buy on a weekly basis.

In 1914, in response to the community's need for organized cultural entertainment, the Vincenzo Bellini Dramatic Club was established. The club's aim, as stated in its constitution, was "to keep the memory of the fatherland alive, and to preserve and disperse the Italian language through the medium of the theatrical amusement." In addition to these aims, the club's activities were governed by three objectives: 1) to spread Italian culture by giving plays in the Italian language; 2) to give financial aid to various charitable organizations and to St. Ambrose Church; and 3) to provide for the personal enjoyment and satisfaction of its members by serving as a social organization for members and their families.⁹

Although the church was the major institution in the community, there were numerous non-church related organizations on The Hill. The North Italian-American Mercantile Company, known as "Big Club," was one of the major social centers of the community. Founded by a group of Milanese in 1893, it became a corporation in 1913. At its inception, "Big Club" was only for Northern Italians. Big Club Hall at 5200 Shaw Avenue was a congregating place for social events, entertainment or just exchanging news from the homeland. Frequently when someone would receive a letter from Italy, he would bring it to Big Club to share messages with other families living in the area. Big Club was also a grocery store where members usually could shop more cheaply than at other stores in the area.

Whereas the Northern Italians had "Big Club," the Southern Italians and Sicilians established the Unione Siciliana Principeda Piedmonte, which maintained a hall on Daggett Avenue and the Palma Augusta Club at 1918-20 Marconi. All of the "halls" served a variety of functions ranging from weddings and dances to card games and political meetings. Other social groups that existed with varying regional affiliations were: Societa-Castel-termini, Megara Augusta Society, Saint Elena Society, Societa Santa Rosalia, and Societa Amore E. Vita S. Martinese.

Although conditions were difficult and the Italian immigrants were forced to work long and hard, they were still able to find time to socialize and enjoy themselves. Besides the events sponsored by the church and the various clubs and societies, much of the entertainment was conducted in the home or backyard. It was common after work and on weekends for several neighbors to get together with a keg or two of beer, play their musical instruments, and play cards or bocce. As an article in the *St. Louis Republic* dated November 1, 1907, described the area —

During the day things are usually quiet, except at the cooperative stores, where the women are purchasing supplies for the evening meal. The men are all at the works, and only the women are at home, and the children play in the streets. But after six o'clock there is a great change. Supper is over and as darkness falls upon The Hill and the lights begin to break through the little windows, the sound of music breaks on the air and The Hill is in gala attire. The evening is not very long for the Italians must retire early, for they have to be up at daybreak and away to their work.

Since they were not paved, the streets were often wet and muddy, and it was quite a sight to see the horsedrawn wagons of the ABC or Hyde Park Breweries trudge through the mud to pick up or deliver the kegs of beer.

There were other entertainment establishments as well. The Family Theater opened its first building on Marconi between Daggett and Wilson. The Nickelodian, which later moved to Shaw Avenue, showed silent movies and in the summer operated an open air theater in the field on the southeast corner of Marconi and Daggett. In this same area an old Sicilian man, Mario Miano, staged elaborate shows for the youngsters on The Hill. The shows were all in Italian and included old Italian folk tales, stories, and plays acted out by Mr. Miano's string puppets.

The taverns were also well patronized. Many were small and catered to particular blocks, but others, such as Gioia's Club at Edwards and Pattison, had the tavern downstairs and a big hall upstairs, where many dances and prize fights took place. However, of all the taverns or saloons on The Hill in the period before 1920, the best known was Joe Ariotto's saloon on Marconi. Joe Ariotto was an excellent musician and formed the Ariotto Brass Band, which became an institution on The Hill. The band played at the saloon and at every parade, celebration, funeral, or wedding. On many occasions, Mr. Ariotto and his musicians would give Sunday evening concerts in an open field next to the church.

Thus, the relative homogeneity of the community in respect to religion, economic status, and place of origin, as well as the availability of jobs, residential development, and territorial isolation from other parts of St. Louis, effectively contributed to the development of an ethnic identification on The Hill in the period from 1890 to 1920. All the people spoke Italian, shared many common customs and traditions, and patronized similar institutions. Even at work the Italians worked in gangs because of the language barrier. Small neighborhood business establishments served the residents. Schools, mutual aid societies, and social clubs all benefited the community. Although some differences remained between the northern and southern Italians, their common belief in and loyalty to St. Ambrose Church eased and eventually dissipated the tensions.

Claymines

The neighborhood was alive early each morning, for the men had to be at work shortly after sun-up. Because of their inability to speak English, the men often worked in gangs and walked to the various mines and brickyards together. Labor in the claymines and brickyards was hard, twelve hours a day, six days a week. On Sunday, the workers usually rested and entertained at home, but it was not unusual to be called to work on Sunday as well.

Pay was based on piecework. Workers would get forty cents per ton of clay loaded in the cars; four dollars a day meant loading seven to ten tons of clay. Then men supplied their own picks and shovels. The air in the mines was very dirty and the working conditions very dangerous; many injuries and an occasional death occurred. If a worker were injured, there was no insurance or compensation. The workers drilled holes six inches deep and two and a half inches wide into the walls of the mines. These holes were then filled with dynamite sticks, which were exploded at the end of each day so that the workers could begin clearing out the clay the next morning. As the men went further into the mines, they had to lay track and put up wooden beams. The clay veins were usually about five feet tall, and the beams were necessary to prevent the limestone ceilings from caving in. When one part of the mine was exhausted, the workers would allow the beams and ceilings to collapse and fill in the mine.

The men would dig the clay and load it in little carts that ran along tracks pulled by mules. (Once a mule was taken into a mine, it remained for life. The mines employed full-time blacksmiths who would shoe the mules and sharpen the metal bits.)

The mules pulled the loaded carts down the tracks to an elevator. Here a "cager" would transfer the clay into the elevator and send the clay out of the shaft. Outside the mine there was more track, and the carts were pushed by hand and dumped into a giant hill, often three stories high. A small gauge train would then transport the clay to the various factories or brickyards to be processed.

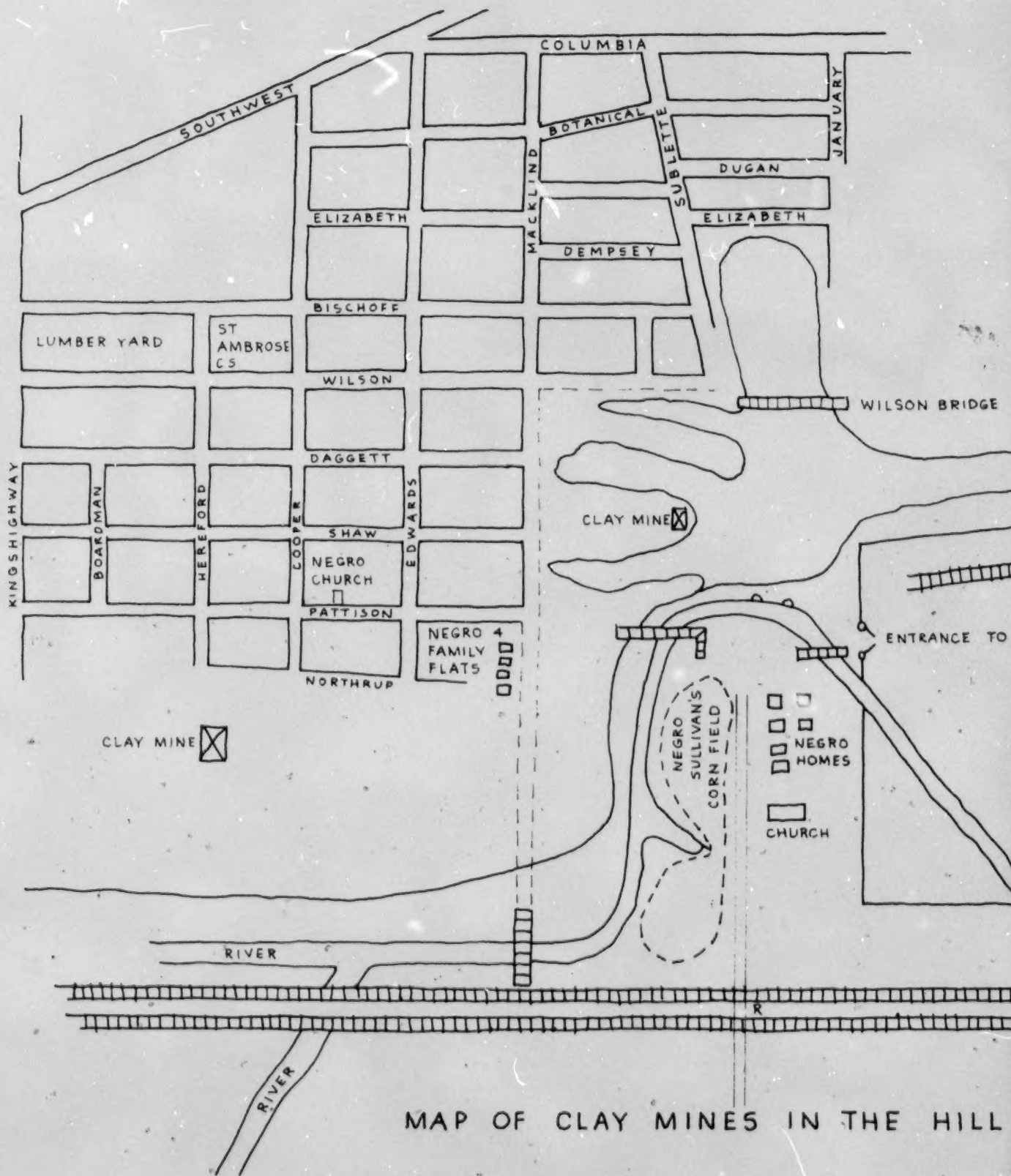
The process varied depending upon the final use of the clay. Firebrick, a high grade material able to withstand a tremendous amount of heat, was not a building brick but was used to line furnaces in foundries or locomotive engines. Once the fire clay was extracted, it would be ground and pulverized, processed through a screen and mixing machine, pressed, dried, and burned. The clay used for building bricks was also ground up and made into a mix. Then the finely ground, almost dry clay was molded into bricks under extreme hydraulic pressure and burned into the finished product.

Some of the major clay mines, brickyards and related industries are listed below. The locations are approximate.

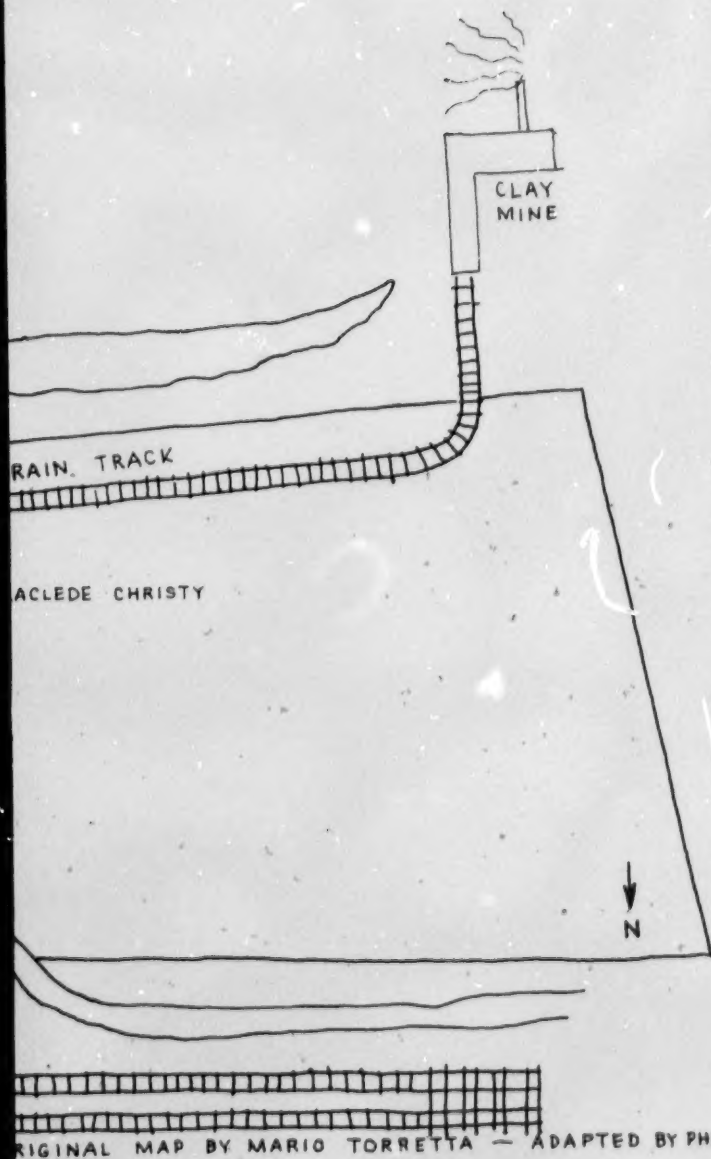
Hydraulic Press Brick #4	Kingshighway and McRee
Laclede-Christy	Chippewa near Ridgewood
Sanders	Macklind and Bischoff
Buelker	January and Elizabeth
Murry and Seins	Pattison and Kingshighway
Laclede No. 1	Wilson near Sulphur
Humes	Between Arsenal and Chippewa
Christy Fire Clay Co.	4000 Kingshighway
Evers and Howard	5200 Manchester
Blackmer-Post	Columbia and Hereford
Forest Park Highlands	Oakland betw'n Hampton & Macklind



credit: privately owned



MAP OF CLAY MINES IN THE HILL



Well, you see, first there was coal mining here. Some of the places - I remember in my early days you could tell certain places where they had a shaft, where they went down . . . You can't see that everywhere today, because everything is improved and leveled off. There's a lot of fireclay. Right across from here, the company I worked for, I was under all of this here, sixty feet deep. We used to go down in the mine. For over forty years they took that clay out of there. Did you ever see fire clay - how it looks? It looks like soap stone, kind of bluish clay - they make these fire-clay brick, which is not a building brick. They line these furnaces in these foundries and the locomotive furnaces; it's a high-grade material that will stand a lot of heat. These glass furnaces. It's not a building brick. That's all they made where I worked. They manufactured that firebrick. From Manchester all the way up to Arsenal Street and from here over to Hampton Avenue - that's all underground. We had to go down there, and they always had two pumps working day and night. The water was coming in there all the time. If they wouldn't pump it out, they would get drowned out and couldn't work in the mines. We had to go down and take care of those pumps. That was awful valuable stuff. There were several other mines around here, too. That's where a lot of these men made their living. They got to get the clay out and then they would grind it and pulverize it, rub it over a screen and then it goes through the machine and they mix it. Then it goes through the press and the driers and then they burn it. It was quite an interesting piece of work. They've been there for about 125 years, that company. And years ago, they got that land for nothing. But they finally did run out, and later on they had to ship it in by railroad. They're gone all together now, you know; they're out of business. The highway went through there. It looks like nothing happened there. Many a hard day's work went in there, I'll tell you. We had three shifts going. They didn't care if you brought your bed down there, because the machinery was running day and night. We couldn't hardly keep things together. It'd wear out so fast. It was our place to keep the things running, you know. The government took everything you could produce. I got away from there. It'll soon be twenty-two years since I've been away from that. (H-12)

1920-1940

St. Ambrose continued to play the major role in the development of the community in the 1920's. On January 20, 1921, the original frame church was totally destroyed by fire. A temporary chapel was set up at the Salus Infirmorum Church on Shaw Avenue which St. Ambrose had purchased from the Old German Protestant Church in 1919. Committees were established to collect funds and draw plans for the erection of a new church. In 1922 Father Carotti became ill and returned to Italy, and Father Giovannini was named as the new administrator of St. Ambrose, which still had a debt of \$30,000. Within one year of Father Giovannini's arrival the entire debt was paid off. This money was collected from personal donations from all parishioners and from the selling of some church-owned property on Shaw Avenue.

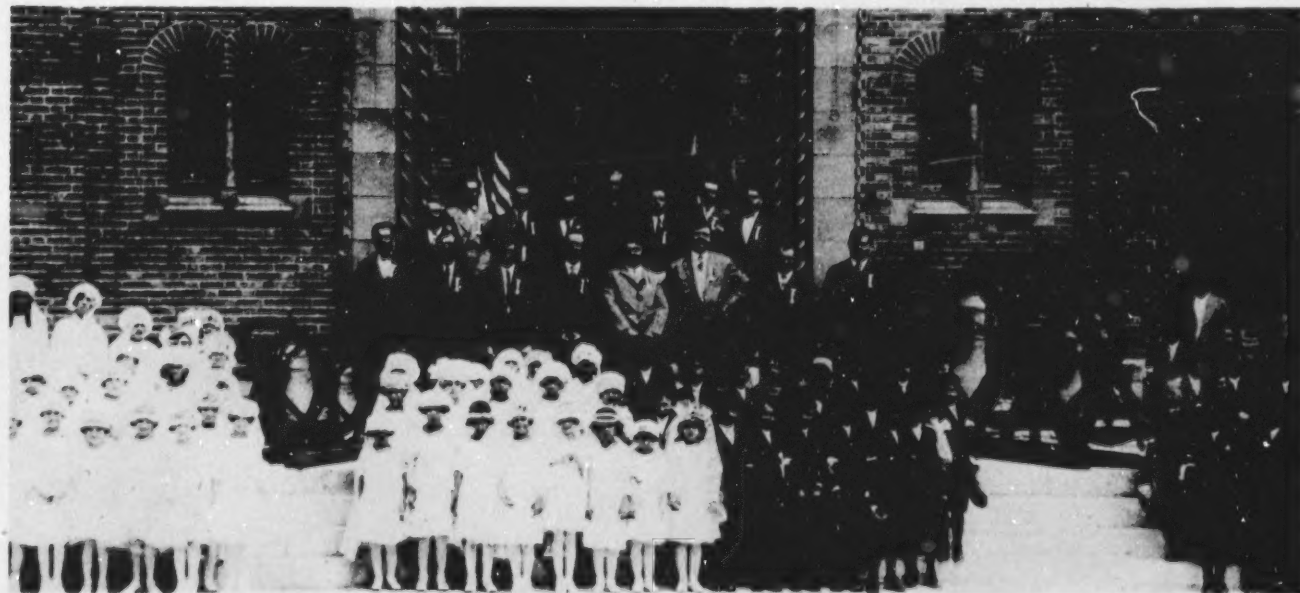
Meanwhile, plans were completed and construction began on the new church to be located at the corner of Cooper and Wilson Streets. Money was collected throughout the parish, and the wealthier families became benefactors. Loans totalling \$118,000 were also received. On May 30, 1925, the cornerstone was laid and on June 27, 1926, the church was finished and dedicated. (The total cost was roughly \$250,000.) An article in the *St. Louis Globe Democrat* Sunday morning, May 31, 1925, describes the new church:

The new church will be of brick and terra cotta structure of the Lombard Romanesque style. The exterior, as well as the plan, represent an original composition inspired by the beautiful Churches of Lombardy, as for example, St. Ambrogio, Milan; St. Petronio, Bologna; and St. Maria delle Grazie, Milan. The brick is shale brick, resembling very closely the brick of the old churches of this style.

The church would not be complete without a bell. Father Giovannini suggested that the faithful on The Hill from the various towns of Italy should unite and donate as many bells as there were Italian towns represented on The Hill. Each bell would be consecrated to the patron saint of the Italian towns in whose name it was given. In a matter of a few days, the appointed committee collected the necessary money; and although only four Italian towns were represented in this undertaking, five bronze bells were ordered with the following inscriptions:

The people of the parish	St. Ambrose
The faithful of Cuggiono	to Our Lady of Mt. Carmel
The faithful of Inveruno	to St. Theresa of Avila
The faithful of Marcallo	to St. Nazaro
The faithful of Casteltermini	to St. Vincent Ferrer

The new bells rang out for the first time Sunday, June 13, 1926.¹⁰



credit: St. Ambrose collection



credit: privately owned - copy, R. A. Faber

During the 1920's and 1930's the church celebrated a number of feast days in honor of San Sebastiano, Santa Rosalia, Our Lady of Mt. Carmel, St. Dominic, St. Joseph and the feast of Corpus Christi. Although everyone participated in these events, the feasts of San Sebastiano, Santa Rosalia and Mount Carmel were days celebrating the saints of specific towns in Italy while St. Joseph, St. Dominic, and Corpus Christi were of a more universal nature. For each Saint's Day, a special committee of people went around the neighborhood and collected money for the feast. The festival began in the morning and continued through the night. The basic format of the celebration was a morning Mass followed by a parade in which a group of men carried the church's statue of the honored saint upon their shoulders around the streets of the neighborhood. As the statue would pass the crowds, all shouted "Viva" and the name of the appropriate saint while pinning on it money or jewelry as a donation for the organization. The route was from Marconi to Pattison to Edwards to Botanical and back to Marconi and the church. The celebration continued with eating, drinking, singing, dancing, and games. Various booths and raffles were set up where the participants could be awarded a live chicken

or pig as a prize. The feast days always concluded with a large fireworks display.

Each feast day had its own characteristics. Corpus Christi, an international festival honoring Christ, is still celebrated on The Hill. Before this festival, the neighborhood is scrubbed down to make it a fitting route for the Blessed Sacrament. The men set up altars at three corners of the route of the procession, and the women decorate them. The day begins with a morning Mass; in the evening the sacrament is carried through the streets to the three altars where benedictions and blessings of the people take place. All then proceed in song back to the church for a concluding service.

St. Joseph, "the protector of the family," is another festival that is still present on The Hill. After the morning service and blessings over a display of food and bread baked by bakers or women in the community, everyone is able to sample the various foods. Anyone wishing to take some of the food home may help himself and leave whatever donation he desires. The money collected from St. Joseph's feast day is all donated to the poor.

Although St. Ambrose Church is the largest and most influential church on The Hill, another Italian, and non-Catholic, church exists. The Italian Evangelical Church, which was built in 1921 at 2109 Edwards Street and later (1929) moved to 5343 Botanical Avenue, was founded by Peter Ottolini. Ottolini, an Italian Protestant minister, first arrived in St. Louis in 1908. Several families on The Hill converted to Protestantism before Ottolini left St. Louis for Chicago in 1910. Upon his return to The Hill in 1917, Rev. Ottolini proselytized from house to house and held services in homes on The Hill until the first church was built on Edwards. A few families from The Hill were members of the Evangelical Church, but most of its congregation resided outside the community. There were no social activities, clubs, or organizations of any kind sponsored by the church.¹¹

The decade of the 1920's brought further residential development to The Hill, and there continued a southward movement between Macklind and Hereford and a westward movement north of Bischoff. (The area immediately west of Macklind in the southern portion of the area was used as a trash dump.) Many of the dirt streets were paved during the twenties, sewers were installed, and gas and electricity became available for home installation. In 1890 there were 117 homes on The Hill; by 1920 there were 728.

Throughout the 1920's the clay, glass and stone industries, which included the mines and brickyards, remained the largest employers of local residents. Other iron and steel industries such as McQuay Norris and Carondelet Foundry were second in employment. Wholesale and retail trade were rapidly increasing categories. A good number of residents worked in various shoe and clothing factories in the city, and several private individuals operated trucks to transport workers to the tobacco plant and various other factories in downtown St. Louis.

He worked at the foundry. Carondelet Foundry. He worked there for forty years, and he inhaled a lot of that dust. It got in his lungs, and he got emphysema from it, and he got tuberculosis. He was sick for about six years. He was in the hospital for five months. It was pretty rough. He died in '66. He was sixty years old. (H-1)

My grandfather was just a laborer; wherever he could get a job, he would take a job. He had owned at one time a bar, and then he went into working just in foundries and factories, wherever he could possibly get employment. My grandmother for a long time worked for Liggett and Myers. (H-21)

As the community's population increased, so did the number of working women. The majority of women were employed at Liggett and Myers Tobacco Factory. Many were young girls, twelve to fourteen years old, who quit school and began work to supplement the family income.

Work days at the tobacco factory were very long and conditions relatively bad. Lungstras Cleaners also employed many women from The Hill. Much of the work at the cleaners was piecework, which meant that working hours were not regular. Here, too, conditions were relatively poor.

Sure! It's hard! . . . We never had a chance to go to college. My brother started working at twelve years old, and I was fourteen. One time my dad was working in the graveyard, and a big pile of bricks fell on top of him . . . and broke I don't know how many ribs. He was laid up for six months. But he came out of it fine. That's when we were growing up, so I was fourteen and quit school, 'cause I lost two years of school in Italy. So when I came back they put me in sixth grade. So I just went to (completed) the seventh grade. When he (my dad) got hurt, I quit school and went to work in the shoe factory. I worked in a shoe factory for six years and then I got married. I was home for about a year and a half and I had my daughter. Then I went back and worked another ten or twelve years . . . So it was rough for me, too. 'Cause you really had to work "piece-work" — so many dozen shoes they had to get out a day . . . About five of us would go down on the streetcar, and we'd walk all the way down Vandeventer. There were no busses there or anything. We had to walk down to Vandeventer and Shaw to catch the Southhampton streetcar. It would take us an hour to get way out to North St. Louis. By the time we got there, we were tired 'ready. We'd leave the house at seven in the morning to start working at eight. After we got off the streetcar, we had to walk about four blocks and in the winter time it was pretty rough. (H-1)

The Hill community originally developed because of the availability of jobs in the clay and brick industries and the factories that grew in and around the immediate area. These industries, however, were not owned or operated by Italians; Italians served as the labor force. As The Hill community grew, a transition from unskilled laborers into successful merchants and skilled and semi-skilled tradesmen occurred. Several Italian-owned companies which were started in the early days of the community were, by 1920, large and prosperous businesses, employing numerous community residents. The major ones were Ravarino and Freschi (1914), John Volpi and Company (1907), Blue Ridge Bottling Company (1914), and Sala's Restaurant (1908).

Shortly after 1920, Italians began to establish themselves in business on a large scale. Two enterprises which were important in this development were the Riggio Realty Company and the Southwest Bank of St. Louis. Riggio Realty started in 1906 as a steamship ticket agency and foreign exchange and over the years expanded into a real estate, loan and general insurance agency. By 1925, the Riggio Realty, located at 5149 Shaw Avenue, occupied one of the finest structures in the area. The company grew to be a familiar institution to all the Italians on The Hill, for its staff gave general advice and financial assistance to Italians.



credit: Angela Walsh

Although Riggio Realty functioned much like a bank, the first officially chartered bank in the area was the Southwest Bank at Kingshighway and Southwest Boulevards. Chartered in 1920, Southwest Bank was organized by business leaders in and around The Hill area. Of the original seventeen board members, three Italians and seven non-Italians either had a business on The Hill or a factory that was a major employer of Hill residents. The bank became known as the "community bank" and was highly patronized by the Italian residents. Many of the bank's customers earned their money from the same companies that directed the bank.

Smaller businesses, too, began to open on The Hill during the 1920's. Three furniture stores opened, two of which were not owned by Italians; Fair Mercantile (1920), Spielberg (1921), and Berra Furniture (1926). The St. Louis Macaroni Manufacturing Company was established in 1926 with 90 per cent of its employees residents of the community. There is no effective way to chart all the dates that businesses opened and closed in the area; however, the chart in the footnotes indicates the number and type of Italian-owned businesses on The Hill in 1930.¹²

The geographical isolation which was so pronounced in the community's development between 1900 and 1920 began to dissipate. By 1920, the city of St. Louis had expanded up to and beyond the boundaries of The Hill. The automobile became more widespread and the first bus lines serving The Hill district were established. (Before 1924 there was no public transportation serving the community. It was necessary to walk six to sixteen blocks to connect with the nearest streetcar line.) In 1924 the People's Motor Bus Company established the Lindenwood line which operated over Southwest Avenue and Vandeventer Avenue to Shaw Boulevard and then east. The Kingshighway bus line, operating over Kingshighway from Gravois to Penrose Street, was also established.

By the late twenties, many Hill residents obtained political patronage jobs working for the city which made it necessary for them to leave The Hill daily and come into contact with other areas of the city. The industrial and manufacturing facilities on the northern, eastern, and southern boundaries of the area isolated The Hill from the surrounding residential areas. The effects of the territorial isolation were declining, but The Hill community still remained an Italian immigrant enclave.

The 1920's were the era of Prohibition. Immediately after the Eighteenth Amendment was ratified in 1918, the making and selling of illegal alcohol became a widespread and lucrative business in all areas of the country. The strong anti-Italian sentiment that developed, not only in St. Louis but throughout the United States, resulted from a widespread belief that Italians were associated with bootlegging, illegal liquor trade, organized crime and the Mafia. During Prohibition St. Louis was known as a major city directly connected to the so-called Mafia organization of Chicago, Cleveland, and Detroit. Illegal liquor

traffic did exist in St. Louis, and newspaper articles made allegations of involvement by Italians. During the late 1920's and early 1930's it was suggested that many households on The Hill were affected by bootlegging activity. Oral histories indicate that bootlegging on The Hill, if it can be so labeled, was restricted to either family consumption or to the distilling and selling of alcohol in very small quantities. Many did not do it with criminal intentions — some never really understood the law — but did it rather as a livelihood and as a means to support their families.

Oh yeah, there were a lot of them that made moonshine in their houses in basements. My dad always made wine. But he just made wine for us. As far as moonshine, there was just a few of them. In fact, we didn't even know who they were until afterwards. But he (my dad) made wine enough for us, maybe a couple barrels a year. (H-1)

Nonetheless, a number of people from The Hill did develop large and intricate systems of producing and selling "moonshine." Several houses in the area had "sub-basements" that connected to sub-street tunnels used to transport sugar and other ingredients necessary for the distillation of alcohol. Although organized crime was not prevalent on The Hill, on several occasions violence broke out and two Hill residents were murdered during the 1920-1930's time period.

One guy was getting all the sugar, and he would deliver it . . . there's a house on Bischoff that somebody said has three sub-basements! He used to cook the stuff, and it would come out the chimney. He'd have a coal fire or something in it, and it would dilute it. But they never knew where the smell was coming from. They couldn't pin it down. In fact, the house here on the corner, it's got a second basement in it. There's a lot of them here in the neighborhood like that. (H-9)

The Prohibition era had profound effects which began in the early 1920's and lasted until, if not beyond, the Second World War. Although most of the crime and publicity involving Italians happened either outside the city or in the downtown district, The Hill, because of its Italian identification, was stereotyped as a "tough district." Although a large number of Italians lived in "Little Italy" downtown, because Italians shared the area with Polish and Russian immigrants, the section was not as easily identified as Italian. The Hill, on the other hand, was very definitely an isolated, all-Italian area. The larger St. Louis community dwelt on this fact, and The Hill became the target of anti-Italian feeling in St. Louis.¹³

Within the Italian community itself this negative image was perceived differently according to age. Many of the older residents who had lived and worked most of their lives on The Hill did not recognize the intensity of the larger society's feelings toward Italians. The entire realm of their lives was determined by the boundaries of The Hill. Everything they needed was there: grocery and dry-goods stores, employment, friends, and church.

Because everyone spoke Italian and knew everyone, there was no need to acknowledge the rest of St. Louis.

Well, if the people would leave The Hill at any time, they would run into, first of all, language barrier. Secondly, they'd run into prejudices. So the community itself was basically set up to make it as convenient and as good as possible for the people who came over who could not speak English language — there isn't in the community, I don't think, ever a time when someone would really have to leave for anything. And this is the way it is right now, too. (F-21)

The younger generations, however, the American-born, felt the discrimination much more intensely. In the 1930's as more youngsters attended school, contacts with non-Hill residents increased, sometimes leading to fights and playground brawls. Many of these younger children had no idea why other students called them names or disliked them.

Practically all social, cultural, religious, and even economic pursuits during the 1930's had to be undertaken by The Hill community itself. The homogeneity of religion, social status, and common heritage led to the development of a strong ethnic community identification. The crystallization of this ethnic identification was focused primarily around the efforts of the community to meet the needs of its residents. During this period, St. Ambrose Church became the institutional and spiritual focal point of the community and established six new organizations. Under the direction of Father Peter Barbabino, the St. Ambrose Young Men's Sodality was organized in 1930; Our Lady of Mt. Carmel Sodality, also known as Young Christian Mothers, was founded in 1932. Father Barabino also founded the Mary Help of Christians organization and the St. Ambrose Alumni Association in 1932. The Crusader Club was organized and founded by Father Weiberg for the spiritual, material, and physical welfare of the young boys of the parish in 1935. Troup 212 Boy Scouts of America of St. Ambrose Church was organized in 1936. The Grail Club, organized for the unification and entertainment of the girls in the parish, was founded in 1938.

In 1934 the International Institute of St. Louis, an organization based on the assimilationist idea of providing immigrant groups with a smooth entry into the American system and helping them resolve cultural and community conflicts, began a project on The Hill. The program, known as "The Fairmount Heights Project," was started in October, 1934, with aid from the Works Division of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. The Institute held classes in physical education, sewing and English at Shaw School. In the fall of 1935, the organization rented a building at the corner of Shaw and Edwards to house a boys' club, girls' club, and the English classes. During the eighteen months that the project existed, a variety of programs were developed which received large turnouts of community residents.

As a result of the Depression of the 1930's many of the area's men were out of work. The unemployed tended to gather during the day and spend their time talking, drinking beer, or playing bocce. Although many of the men were out of work for an extended period, there was no general request for unemployment relief until 1932. Most of the financial needs on The Hill were being met by mutual aid societies and close friends. Often the women were the only ones able to maintain a job during the Depression and would support the entire family. The Depression was a hard time, and many people lost homes they had just purchased.

The political ward bosses were often able to get residents patronage jobs on the city's payroll. Because of the ability of the ward boss to help residents in need, a strong political solidarity developed on The Hill (see special feature section on Politics).

During the Depression the lack of jobs also served as a major impetus for the young people on The Hill to complete high school. By staying in school young men and women not only were increasing their educational level, but were also helping alleviate the already heavy strain on the local job market.

By 1930 the population of The Hill had grown to 6,089 (1930 census) with nearly 15 per cent of the population between the ages of five and fourteen and another 13 per cent between fifteen and twenty years (see chart).

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF CENSUS TRACTS 13B & 13C

1930	
Age	Numbers
Under 5 years	588
5-14	1,554
15-20	885
21-24	337
25-34	810
35-44	866
45-64	861
65 and over	88
TOTAL	6,089

The youth were very much interested in American athletic events such as football, basketball, baseball, as well as soccer, and several playgrounds served as congregating places for the younger community residents. The Shaw School playground opened in 1924 adjacent to the school and was maintained by the Board of Education. The other playground maintained by the city of St. Louis was a small area on the corner of Boardman and Shaw Avenues. Green's Hill at Macklind and Shaw and the field at Macklind and Wilson were both used as unofficial play area. However, the most important sports field on The Hill, from Kingshighway and Southwest to the railroad tracks extending from the McQuay Norris Foundry, was known as Foundry Field. People from outside The Hill came to see the famous circuses of the times which set up their tents in Foundry Field when they came to St. Louis. This field, which had

two or three ball diamonds, was not maintained by the city but by the children of the neighborhood. Not only was it the biggest and most important sports field, but it also played vital roles in neighborhood and church celebrations. Every night, especially during the summer months, the children would go to the playgrounds or fields to play until the neighborhood alarm sounded telling the youngsters when to be home. Each night at 9:00 p.m. the Liggett and Myers tobacco factory blew a loud whistle easily heard throughout the area. All the children knew that if they weren't back home by the time the whistle blew they would have to pay the consequences.

The large number of young people with a keen interest in athletics led to the formation of many athletic clubs. These clubs were usually composed of members from the same neighborhood blocks who competed among themselves and with other teams in the city. Although several clubs organized in the 1920's, thirty competing clubs formed in the 1930's. The first clubs were predominantly composed of Lombards; then, several Sicilian clubs developed and eventually, the majority of the clubs were mixed. In the early days the clubs were located in shacks, garages, a basement, or a rented house, or even a couple of rooms in a commercial building. Some clubs, such as the Hawks, Marconi A.C., Wildcats, and Cubs, raised enough money to purchase their own buildings. One club, the Pelicans, built their club house in a cave just west of Macklind Avenue and used the cave as their headquarters for two or three years.

The clubs were organized primarily for year-round social and sporting activities. Softball and soccer were the two biggest sports, and basketball and hockey were also popular. Most of the clubs formed their own leagues or participated in the Catholic Youth Council (CYC) under the name of St. Ambrose or with the Y.M.C.A. athletic program supervised by Joe Causino. "Uncle Joe" Causino was a great friend of The Hill and its boys and was influential in the creation of many of the athletic clubs. He would let the clubs play and swim at the Y.M.C.A. even though the boys were not actually members.

"Many athletes from the neighborhood, who began playing on Foundry or Macklind fields, have received local, national, and international acclaim for their achievements on the athletic fields. The most visible are Joe Garagiola and Yogi Berra, both professional baseball players. Possibly the greatest achievements of the neighborhood athletes, however, were in soccer. Charlie Columbo and Frank Borghi were on the United States team which defeated England in the early fifties, a victory which still ranks as one of the biggest soccer upsets in international soccer competition. Gino Pariani, Johnny Barale and Frank Wallace were on the United States team which participated in the World cup matches in Brazil in 1950."¹⁴

The clubs were also social. Parties, dances, wiener roasts, and hayrides were weekend events, and during the week the clubhouse was the social center for cards, ping pong, horseshoes, or just hanging out. Most of the clubs had their own radio and



The Raven's credit: Frank Nazzoli

phonograph. Listening to the radio was an everyday activity, and playing the phonograph and dancing to 78 rpm records of all the big bands provided the highlight of all the regular social gatherings. In addition, each club sponsored an annual dance. Most of these dances were held at the Big Club Hall, but occasionally a club would rent another dance hall in St. Louis. Big dances with members of all the clubs on The Hill invited were scheduled for almost every weekend of the year. The clubs would solicit program ads from the local businessmen to help pay for some of the expenses. The money raised, often \$650 or \$700, was used to keep the clubs alive, to pay for the club house, furniture, sporting events, t-shirts and hats, and athletic equipment. Besides giving young boys the opportunity to have an athletic and social life, these clubs also helped to strengthen the community. Names such as "The Hawks," "The Ravens," and "Fawns," to name just a few, became neighborhood institutions that even today bring back a strong identification among the men who were once members.

Girls, on the other hand, were kept close to home and given strict regulations. When a couple started dating, a chaperone, usually the girl's father was often present. If they went to a movie, the boy would have to pay for everyone in the girl's family who wanted to come along. These contrasting extremes — the boys with few restrictions and the girls almost totally supervised — created a disruption in the old Italian family structure.

The younger people did not look with disfavor upon their Italian heritage, but they could not identify with Italy as their parents did nor could they understand why they were often excluded and unable to enter the American social process. This social and cultural exclusion contributed to the development of an ethnic and community identification on The Hill.

The Italian dramatic clubs (The Vincenzo Bellini and the more recent (1938) Luigi Pairandello) are one example of the contradictions that developed in this time period because of the isolation and negative image of the community. The foreign language presentations played an important role in the intellectual, social and cultural life of the Italian community. They provided the opportunity to see and enjoy theater which because of the language barrier they would otherwise not have been able to do. The dramatic clubs also functioned as social organizations and sponsored various gatherings and activities in preparation for their productions. These foreign language groups undoubtedly served as a stimulus to ethnic identification. Although "ethnic solidarity" developed on The Hill from "outside" pressures, The Hill's own internal development encouraged "native-Americans" to maintain resentment and prejudice toward The Hill and its Italian residents.

Besides all the activities of the Church, the athletic clubs, and the theater groups, numerous private establishments were well patronized by Hill residents. The Family Theater moved from its original location on Marconi to a new building on Shaw

Avenue. Children paid a nickel or dime to get in, bought a grab-bag of candy for another nickel, and spent the day watching the movies. The Columbia Theater, which opened on Southwest and Edwards Streets in 1925, brought with it the glamour of bright lights, vaudeville stars, and the new talking pictures from the developing motion-picture industry in Hollywood. The opening of the Columbia Theater contributed to the closing of the Family Theater in 1930. It established a new and exciting institution for The Hill. The Columbia Theater became practically a weekly stop for a great many Hill residents, and on weekends parents would send their children to the theater where they were sure they were being entertained and supervised. (Rumor has it that the owner of the theater would often stop the movie, turn on the lights, and discipline any of the rowdy or mischievous youngsters.)

Although Prohibition closed taverns and night clubs, the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment in 1932 permitted corner taverns and night spots to open. The Columbo Cafe, the Berra Cafe, or Sala's (for a Sala Special), or even Lee's Grill on Manchester and Macklind (the poor man's hamburger haven) were all popular spots and well patronized by the community residents. Barni's "Corner of Joviality" at Southwest and Marconi was a hall and tavern as well as a business of wholesale tobacco and candy. Here was the only place where one could get a "good" Italian cigar. The Italian-American Boxing Club presented many local boxing matches at Gioia's Hall where many of the young athletes from The Hill participated. The Club Casino, at Wilson and Macklind, was a night club and brought in big-name entertainment; the club was patronized by people from all over St. Louis. And, of course, there was Ruggeri's Restaurant at 2300 Edwards Street, which was considered one of the ten most popular restaurants in the United States.

The traditions and ceremonies that accompanied birth, marriage, and death were all very interesting. Although the roots of these customs were in Italy, the customs were modified to conform to the specific conditions on The Hill. These traditions began with the inception of the community and remained very strong up to World War II. After the War, the traditions were again modified, but even today many of the original customs are still practiced in the homes on The Hill.

A wedding has always been one of the most joyous and festive occasions on The Hill. Before any marriage plans could be made, the boy had to ask the girl's father for permission to marry; if the boy was suitable to the parents, the girl was then allowed to give her consent. When the engagement was announced, everyone in each family would exchange gifts. All guests were invited to the wedding in person, either by the engaged couple or by the fathers of the bride and groom.

A great importance was placed on a girl's wedding. Each mother would start preparing her daughter's trousseau or hope chest when the girl was as young as eleven years old — ordering bedspreads, towels, tablecloths and any other necessary household items. After all the preparations were complete, the bride was

ready for the wedding. She would display her trousseau a week before her wedding to her family and friends. A Sicilian tradition of the bride's staying in her home a week before the wedding symbolized the importance of premarital virginity. After the week was up, she would visit with her family and friends, wear her "eight-day dress" and be ready for the wedding.

The ceremony was simple but joyous. After the marriage ceremony in the church, a party was given either at the bride's home or at the Big Club Hall. The newlyweds were often serenaded as they walked to the party after the ceremony. The groom paid for all the wedding expenses, and the groom's father bought the bride's dress. The entire celebration often lasted three days. On the first day everyone was invited. Home-made wine and beer were served with cookies and peanuts in a shell. The main course usually consisted of pasta and Italian sausages. There was always plenty of music and singing, and the accordion was the most popular instrument. On the second day of festivities, the new couple welcomed people into their home. The guests gave gifts and, in exchange, received a favor, such as cookies adorned with almonds. (Sometimes the favors cost more than the gifts themselves.) The third day was celebrated by close relatives and the immediate families, and they would finish the remaining food. It was also traditional for the new couple to visit on the following Sunday all those who attended their wedding.

Years ago, we'd have the wedding for two days. First they'd invite everybody the first day. We had like 500 people at our wedding. The second day was the real close relatives. Then they had a third day - maybe just the two families. They ate up all the food that was left.

Here's another custom. Years ago it was the man who paid for the expenses of the hall. Like the woman pays today. But years ago, it was the man that paid for everything. When we got married, his (my husband's) father bought my dress. That was the custom. The groom's father would pay for the bride's dress. (H-9)

Another important event was the birth of a child. Prior to World War II nearly 90 per cent of the babies on The Hill were delivered by two sisters, Mrs. Volpi and Mrs. Valli. (These midwives went to school in Italy and passed an examination which licensed them as midwives.) A woman would go to the midwife to be examined and find out when the baby was due. When it was time the midwife would come, deliver the baby at home, and return every day for eight days to wash the baby and care for the mother. Before 1920 the midwife charged five dollars to deliver a baby; by 1930 the price had gone up to twenty-five dollars. After the eight days, the family would visit the child, and homemade cookies and various liqueurs were served as refreshments.

Funerals were also governed by traditions. The body of a deceased person was not taken to a funeral home; the casket, never to be left alone, was placed in the home. It was traditional among southern Italians to keep a window open in the room where the deceased was laid so that the soul might return to visit its former home. A funeral procession on The Hill walked from the funeral home to the church; three pallbearers were on each side of the casket, and the family followed behind. Funeral processions often included a ten- or twelve-piece marching band which played the funeral march. One long-standing tradition that is still carried out today is the saying of the rosary in Italian for the deceased. As in Italy, condolence calls were made and friends and relatives brought food to the family of the deceased. These two practices still exist today.



credit: privately owned

In summary we can see that during the 1920's and 1930's specific structural circumstances and anti-immigrant feeling prevalent in St. Louis caused the development of a strong negative image of The Hill and its Italian residents. This negative community image and the social and cultural exclusion that resulted prevented the residents from assimilating into the larger society. Although many Italian immigrants of The Hill became familiar with American ways and although Americanization was impor-

tant to them for their own survival, they had to develop institutions and activities which would meet their immediate needs. The period of 1920 to 1940 was a difficult one for the Italian immigrant, especially for their American-born children who could not comprehend the negative feelings and isolation. It took such an event as World War II to begin breaking down the barriers of isolation and allowing the Americanization process of the Italian immigrant to advance at a rapid pace.

w.w. 2-1960

World War II occasioned a major turn in the history of The Hill community. Over 1000 boys from the neighborhood fought in World War II. A bronze plaque at the rear of St. Ambrose Church lists the names of twenty-three boys from the parish who were killed during the war. The commemorative booklet issued by the Church on November 24, 1946, is evidence of the great pride the neighborhood takes in the personal sacrifices that they have made for this country. They were Americans first and Italians second, and that is how they wanted others to see them.

During the war many residents worked at home in civilian jobs which contributed material and services to the war effort. Many of the young men in the armed services found themselves fighting in the very districts and towns their families had come from. Raised on their parents' and grandparents' remembrances of "the old country," these young soldiers from The Hill found little in the war-torn Italy of the forties with which to identify.

I guess the Second World War started changing The Hill. The girls who worked in the defense plants were less sheltered from non-Italian boys than their older sisters and mothers had been. Neighborhood boys and girls started dating and then marrying outsiders.¹⁵

For the first time, both young men and women began leaving The Hill in large numbers. A strong push out of the ethnic community was the characteristic of second generation Italian-Americans who wanted to be recognized as good American citizens. "They could not continue to live in isolation—they had to face social and economic situations resulting from school, military, and cultural conflicts."¹⁶

The political climate in the United States after the war encouraged intense 'American' identification. There was some fear among immigrant groups that strong ethnic identification would be interpreted as "anti-American."

Let every man honor and love the land of his birth and the race from which he springs and keep their memory green. It is a pious and honorable duty. But let us have done with British-Americans and Irish-Americans and German-Americans; and so on, and all be Americans. If a man is going to be an American at all, let him be so without any qualifying adjectives; and if he is going to be something else, let him drop the word American from his personal description.

Henry Cabot Lodge¹⁷

After the war the composition of the neighborhood began to shift, primarily because of changes taking place in the second generation population. The community's population declined

noticeably. Census data indicates that from 1940, following the 15 to 30 age group through to 1950, 9 per cent, or roughly 500 residents, moved. If one follows the same age group from 1950 to 1960, another loss of over 300 residents occurred. This group of second generation residents, which was the same group that comprised 33 per cent of the community's population in 1930, was now of an age to be married. Many Hill residents, both male and female, met and became acquainted with non-Italian, non-Hill residents for the first time during the war years, and the number of intermarriages rose sharply. This break from the traditional custom of marrying only an Italian indicates a degree of cultural assimilation into larger society. Intermarriage and identification with the core culture were important, but they also stemmed from the original reason the Italian immigrant came to this country — economic opportunity. Over a period of thirty to forty years the Italian immigrants of The Hill greatly improved their physical and material conditions. They had become more mobile and better educated; they had developed more cosmopolitan contacts; and they were more economically secure. However, conditions existed which invited the immigrants to leave the ethnic community and relocate. After the war the choice of actually leaving the area became possible. The post-war national growth pattern was a move away from the densely populated city areas and to the suburbs. The move away from The Hill for the second generation was a sign, to some, that they had made it in America.

To understand this migration during the late 1940's and 1950's it is important to look at the physical conditions and architectural design of the housing on The Hill. In 1950, according to the U. S. Census of Housing Statistics in St. Louis by Tracts, 49.9 per cent of the housing in Tract 13B, (the area bounded by Daggett on the north, Kingshighway on the east, Southwest and Columbia on the south, and January on the west), was constructed before 1919. In Tract 13C, (the area bounded by Manchester on the north, Kingshighway on the east, Daggett on the south, and January on the west), this percentage was 83.3. The three-room "shot gun" style, with a living room, bedroom, and kitchen was most common. Hallways were seldom included in floor plans; each room served as a passageway to the next, making privacy almost impossible. Often, large families lived in these small homes under very crowded conditions. The available housing could not meet the needs of the second generation whose emerging middle-class ideals included the widely-held preference for a new single-family "ranch"-style house. These two separate forces — the pull of assimilation with its attractive middle-class lifestyle and the structural conditions of the neighborhood — worked simultaneously upon the second generation. As a result, many left because they wanted to and others left because they had to.

I think one of the big reasons — let's just say, mostly it's the second generation that did a lot of moving — quite possibly transfers, or the homes that they lived in at the time were small and as the families started growing up, they found out they needed more space, and right now The Hill is saturated with homes. They've got plenty of homes but they're all three- and four-room homes. So I would imagine that would be another reason. Just getting another home would be one of the big things. (H-21)

Veterans of the war had a distinct advantage over the older residents and non-veterans because they could acquire Veterans Administration and Federal Housing Authority housing loans. Because the regulations governing V.A. and F.H.A. loans made it economically advantageous to purchase a new rather than an old house, the program encouraged moves to area where land for new residential development was available. By the same regulations older homes on The Hill were ineligible for subsidy because of a failure to meet architectural specifications. The area just southwest of The Hill, bounded by Southwest and Arsenal, known as Blue Ridge Heights, became heavily populated with Italians. A relocation of many young Italians so close to The Hill indicates that the lack of available land for new housing within the neighborhood was a primary factor in the migration from The Hill.

The only undeveloped section of The Hill, the area west of Macklind between Shaw and Wilson, was used as a trash refuse until the early 1950's when this tract was improved and offered for residential development. Construction began immediately. Most of the homes were sold before being completed. This new housing of the 1950's points again to the changing ideals of the second generation. The new areas show a striking contrast in land-use pattern from the older sections of the neighborhood. The homes are larger with bigger yards, and the corner grocery stores and taverns that characterize the rest of the neighborhood are absent. (Even in the older sections many of these local commercial establishments had closed.) The neighborhood was becoming more mobile and "Americanized" in its life-style.

It is important to note that the changes in The Hill parallel major changes in the city as a whole.

In the years following W.W. II, a combination of factors made large scale exodus of middle class families from the city of St. Louis almost inevitable. This would probably have taken place without pressure for housing from low-income groups, white or black. This movement was accelerated by a variety of reinforcing mechanisms. A combination of widespread automobile ownership, the building of highspeed expressways, and the favorable terms for financing new suburban property under F.H.A. and V.A. guarantees simply made suburbia a better buy, especially considering the rapidly rising incomes and income expectations of the early 1950's. Further reinforcement came from 1) the non-availability of land within the city which could be developed, 2) the abundance of such land in the suburbs, and 3) the pull of jobs in

the developing county. But a major factor was the age of St. Louis housing and the fact that it did not reflect the aspirations of the life-style of post-war affluence.¹⁸

The post-war prosperity, with its increased opportunities for upward mobility, left hardly a single aspect of the community's life untouched by the forces of assimilation. By the mid-1950's age had become a critical factor.

There was a time when young couples who got married wouldn't leave The Hill. If they had to live somewhere else temporarily, they would wait until a house was for sale on The Hill, and move back. But today's young people don't feel lost away from The Hill. They work everywhere in St. Louis, in offices, stores, factories.¹⁹

Many who remained in the neighborhood made major investments in their property and, thereby, in the neighborhood. During this period of major renovation, there also emerged definite signs of deterioration and blight, especially in the oldest north-eastern section of the community. Those who moved but did not sell often lost interest in their property and rented indiscriminately.

Then in the fifties everyone wanted a house in the county, so The Hill became less popular. The neighborhood was mixed then, and there were a lot of people just renting. That hurts the neighborhood, you know, because people who own their own places care more about the neighborhood.²⁴

An influx of short term, non-community, non-Italian occupants came to the area. The switch from privately owned to tenant property caused further decline in the already old housing stock, and both the social and physical structures of The Hill community deteriorated.

As the residential character of the neighborhood changed, the cultural and occupational composition of the community changed as well. Before the 1930's formal education was not highly valued, but when unemployment began to rise during the Depression further education not only was an alternative, it also helped alleviate the already heavy strain on the local job market. Not only did education become valuable, but since there was no high school within the neighborhood, one had to leave The Hill to further his education. Among the population of over twenty-five years old, the average grade completed rose from 5.6 in 1940 to 8.2 in 1950, where it has remained to the present. The second generation was the first to experience the long-term advantages of formal education.

Two additions to the neighborhood during the 1940's, although parish-related, demonstrated the growing community concern over education and symbolized a more American middle-class ideal. The first was the building of the Sacred Heart Villa, dedicated on Sunday, March 12, 1940. (This three-story brick structure, costing more than \$510,000 is located on Macklind Avenue at Wilson.) The Villa, dedicated to the care of Italian children of St. Ambrose Parish, contains a day nursery and

kindergarten and is staffed by the Italian Sisters of the congregation of the Apostles of the Sacred Heart. Italian sisters from this order began teaching at St. Ambrose School in 1941. (Although plans had been developed in the late 1930's, construction had been delayed by the War.) The second educational addition to The Hill was the completion of the new St. Ambrose School in 1949. The new modern school next to the church on Wilson Avenue was built with funds collected from the parishioners and is large enough to accommodate all the children in the parish.

As the cultural boundaries loosened through education, so also did they loosen because of occupational boundaries. There was not only a clear pattern of separation between place of work and residence but also a growing differentiation of occupational types. The sex ratio of the work force also changed from 80 per cent male in 1930 to 57 per cent in 1970. Local industrial and commercial establishments were no longer the most significant employers of neighborhood residents. In 1930 almost half the men were unskilled laborers in the clay and brick industries. Looking only at the male population from 1940 to the present, we find a relatively stable work force, but a decline in the percentage of laborers, from 28 per cent to 12 per cent and a slight increase in professionals, from 1 to 16 per cent. The decline in laborers correlates most closely with the increase from 15 to 25 per cent of those classified as craftsmen and service workers; the major jump in craftsmen takes place between 1940 and 1950 and in service workers from 1960 to 1970. The 1960 and 1970 census data indicate that 80 per cent of the neighborhood labor force worked off The Hill.

The economic indicators of family income and property value also show a steady increase. The median income increased from \$3,000 in 1950 to \$10,000 in 1970, a rise consistently higher than the city median. Property values parallel the city at large: an increase from \$3,000 to \$13,000, though close to 10 per cent of the housing units are valued at over twice the mean. Today homes in the neighborhood are two-thirds owner occupied, over one-third of which have been occupied by the same resident for more than thirty years.

The period 1944 to 1967, then, constituted a period of assimilation. One by one the cultural, occupational, economic, and territorial boundaries began to disappear. With a more general acceptance of Italians by the larger society, a decline in the Italian identification and color on The Hill became evident.

The Volpi Salami factory is one of the few remaining strictly Italian institutions on The Hill. The restaurants have gone "American and modern." And except for older generation housewives chatting in Italian over the brick fences. The Hill might be any other section of St. Louis. And among the young folks there is no regret that it has lost its color.

"If you look deep enough, I guess the color's there," Joe Correnti, the cleaner, says, "but the younger generation isn't interested in that."²¹

St. Ambrose, which had always been the focal point of the area, also experienced changes. In 1955, the parish was recategorized from a national parish to a territorial parish with new boundaries confined to the actual boundaries of The Hill. It was also in the post-war period that the first non-Italian was appointed pastor of St. Ambrose. Membership in church organizations declined, and the celebration of various feast days was eliminated.

The post-war period also saw changes in the recreational life of the community. The athletic clubs, which had played such a vital role in the development of the youth, nearly died out. Several clubs survived the 1950's, but the conditions that contributed to the need for the athletic clubs in an earlier time no longer exist. Today a number of old clubs still have regular meetings and annual events, attended by members from years gone by. The community playgrounds also declined in importance. As one community resident put it:

One by one, the old playing fields have been disappearing. Foundry Field at Kingshighway and Southwest—our most important sports field—has been turned into commercial property. Green's Hill at Macklind and Shaw is now a city playground (Berra Park) and caters only to the very little ones. Shaw and Boardman has been converted into a parking lot, and Macklind and Wilson is now the site of Sacred Heart Convent's Day Nursery.²²

The Professional and Businessmen's Club of The Hill, important and well-respected organization within the community, had its origin in the post-war period of Americanization. The PBMC, often referred to as "The Helping Hand of The Hill," was originally established as the Optimist Club of The Hill and affiliated with the National Optimist Organization based in New York. When the Club was established in 1949, it was designed as a benevolent institution to assist those within the metropolitan vicinity who were in urgent need of funds.

Within a few years, membership dropped because many of the men felt that they were sending national dues to New York and not getting anything in return. In 1954, the Optimist Club was abolished, and its members decided to create an organization that was more responsive to The Hill. The PBMC, a non-profit organization, does not compete with any of the other groups within the community. The money raised is tax-free and is used to benefit the St. Louis community. As stated in the constitution and by-laws:

The club is organized to: provide monies primarily for scholarships and financial aid for education to the people within the boundaries selected by the club; to promote the general welfare of the people in the metropolitan St. Louis area through financial or other means even though they reside outside the boundaries selected by the club, and to provide recognition of the accomplishment of members or residents of the St. Louis area for their efforts to improve the community.²³

Though primarily Hill-based, these local businessmen are concerned about the future of the city of St. Louis and are well known for their charitable endeavors, primarily in the form of medical assistance and scholarship awards to local students.

1960-present

At present, The Hill has a new image, one of strong stability and a very visible "Italianness." What brought about this change was no one factor but rather a convergence of various events.

In the 1960's three external threats to the neighborhood, along with the physical decline, laid the foundation for a new neighborhood awareness. The first revival of pride on The Hill occurred in March of 1964 when a group of men and women banded together and formed the Improvement Association of The Hill. Its main purpose was to seek ways of forcing out the alderman, who this group felt was not performing his duties to serve the community and its residents.

But it was not until August of 1965 that full neighborhood mobilization and commitment on neighborhood issues became a reality. The president of the Improvement Association had discovered that the alderman had approved permission for the building of a drive-in movie theater on the edge of the newest section on The Hill. The addition of the drive-in would threaten not only the safety of the area but also the character of the residential community. A neighborhood meeting was held August 16, 1965, at the Big Club Hall. Almost 800 people assembled that night in opposition to the proposed drive-in at Wilson and January Avenues. A committee, led by the associate pastor of St. Ambrose, Father Salvatore Polizzi, was established to stop the proposed construction. Through the committee's strong and well-organized campaign, along with complete neighborhood support, the construction of the drive-in was permanently blocked.

Another external threat gave impetus to growing community concern. National Lead Company, a multi-million dollar operation located on the northwestern part of The Hill began testing the abandoned underground clay mines that honeycomb the district for disposal of industrial waste. The plan to pour 40,000 gallons of waste-water per day into the old mines was a direct threat to the physical structures in the area. The battle in and out of court with National Lead took eight months of hard work by the community residents, the political leaders, and the church. The time and effort were successful; National Lead was forced to halt its proposed plans.

The third threat, ultimately the most important and controversial, surfaced in 1956 when the Federal Highway Department announced that the new Interstate I-44, (running from California to Chicago) would cut a path directly through the northern section of The Hill. Construction was not planned for many years; the people who would be affected did not envision the problems this highway would cause in the area.

It was almost ten years later that the Highway Department began to buy the property and demolish the homes. So, the crisis of the drive-in theater and the highway tragedy almost coincided. The Improvement Association, as a result of its victory over the theater, gained in strength and membership . . . Meetings were held concerning the highway . . . Oftentimes, property was purchased, and the homes were not demolished but rented by an agency. The agency, without any scruples, rented the property to anyone (and I say this judiciously), to people who did not care about cleanliness, nor did they respect the rights others had of living in a quiet, clean community.²⁴

As the community battled to have the property bought by the Federal Highway Department kept clean and as they considered ways of reconnecting the two sections of the neighborhood, a new problem developed. An additional exit ramp, which would have removed another twelve homes in addition to the 100 homes already lost and taken one-fourth of Berra Park, was added to the plans for the highway. With the help of the elected officials, residents set up a hearing before the state highway department in Jefferson City. A well-organized and well-prepared group went to the capitol and successfully blocked the proposed ramp.

But the battle was not won —

It was also 1971 that the horror of the future highway became a reality. The . . . construction company was given the contract and began to close down streets. The three blocks of homes on the northern side of the highway, approximately 150 homes, were virtually cut off from the other 1300 homes. No churches, no schools, no stores, no services. From ten emergency entrances and exits the area was reduced to two. The insurance companies would not renew the homeowner's policies, because the emergency vehicles (fire, etc.) found it difficult to reach the area . . . All we asked for was a vehicular overpass joining the two areas. A pedestrian overpass was already part of the plan. We wanted another emergency entrance and exit.²⁵

The residents had to take further action.

Hearings were again set up in Jefferson City, but this time they were fruitless. Further hearings were requested and denied. From contacts with the Governor of Missouri, the United States Senators and Representatives from Missouri, and the U. S. Secretary of Transportation (John Volpe, also an Italian-American), a hearing before the United States Office of Transportation was granted. A committee of five Hill residents travelled to Washington, D. C., to present their case to the Transportation Department. During this meeting with Senator Thomas Eagleton, Congresswoman Lenore Sullivan and a representative of Senator Stuart Symington's office, the committee from The Hill presented to the United States Department of Transportation a check for \$50,000 to pay for the overpass. The idea of a small local neighborhood giving money to the government brought national news recognition to The Hill, and The Hill got the overpass.



The Hill in Washington, D.C. credit: privately owned

Community and ethnic consciousness re-emerged because of outside pressure—three separate incidents in a short period of time—and became crystallized in effective political mobilization. The church, as in the early days of The Hill, had played a primary role in these efforts and bonds of neighborhood unity. It would continue to do so.

In 1969 Father Polizzi called a meeting of thirty businessmen from the community to discuss plans to revitalize the neighborhood. (The exceptional community involvement and mobilization during the controversies surrounding the drive-in theater, National Lead Company, and the highway encouraged and assured the group that the community residents were committed to the betterment of the area.) This meeting laid the foundations for the organization and development of a new neighborhood betterment association: Hill 2000. The group drew up a constitution and a set of by-laws and selected a twelve-member board of directors. Each board member had to live, rent, or own property on The Hill and donate \$500 to the organization.

The main purpose of the organization is stated in Article III, Section 1, of its bylaws: "to initiate programs and to plan ef-

fectively and creatively for the future welfare of the area as regards to continued quality of community life. This will encompass the social, economic, commercial, religious, physical, cultural, and moral welfare of the area and its residents." The Improvement Association of The Hill, which had played an instrumental role in the mobilization of the community, became a committee within the new Hill 2000. "Pride Builds!" became the theme of the organization which, after a short time, gained full support from the community.

Gradually the repair on homes began to become very noticeable. New porches, new sidewalks, new siding, new roofs; neighbor followed neighbor; street followed street. This decision to bring The Hill back to life again was meat for the news media, which has befriended our community. The Hill 2000, intimately connected with St. Ambrose Church, using all of its office staff and facilities, involved itself in bringing services to the people, finding jobs for young and old; reassuring property owners that if the quality of their property was kept very high, it would always be rented and that the value would continue to increase.²⁶

Just as the neighborhood was directing its energies to combat the internal threat of physical decline, a new phenomena — a wave of new Italian immigrants to the neighborhood—appeared.

The 1950's and 1960's were economically difficult for Italians, especially in the south of Italy, with high unemployment and rapid inflation. Although the heaviest emigration of Italians during this period was to other European countries participating in the economic community, the United States still maintained the mystique of the "land of opportunity." Those who were able to make the quota or later to be included in the priority preferences came to the United States much like the earlier wave of Italian immigrants — to seek economic opportunity.

Naturalization statistics show that 753 Italian citizens came to St. Louis between 1950 and 1970 and applied for citizenship after five years of residence. The Hill community absorbed 122 Italian immigrants, while the remaining 631 settled elsewhere in St. Louis.

Post-war Italian immigration to St. Louis coincided with the migration of the second- and third-generation residents from the neighborhood, and homes became available on The Hill. The majority of the new immigrants moved into older homes which were no longer suitable to the upwardly-mobile second-generation residents of the community. In this way, the Italian immigrant, by occupying the older and less desirable housing, prevented "outsiders" or "unconcerned" migrants from moving into the area. Their entry also helped initiate a new Italian consciousness among the native residents.

The new immigrants to The Hill proper and to the St. Louis area also acted as a boost to the neighborhood Italian commercial establishments. According to community merchants, every week recent immigrants, long-time residents, and non-Hill residents came to The Hill to shop for the Italian specialties imported and carried only in Hill shops. Several of the new Italian restaurants and *Il Pensiero*, the local Italian newspaper, are presently owned by Italian immigrants who have come to the neighborhood since the war. New immigration has served, then, to enhance the ethnically-related industries in the area and to highlight The Hill's identification as an Italian neighborhood.

In 1965, the city of St. Louis asked The Hill to participate in the city-wide celebrations that were part of the bicentennial exhibition. The celebration was to focus on the historical development and Italian heritage of the community. The neighborhood celebration assumed special meaning even in the planning stage

as many community residents took an active part in its creation. The first Hill Day Committee was composed of twenty-one people. Dennis Cassani, chairman of the first Hill Day, wrote to the Bicentennial Commission that Hill Day would feature "imagination," and that "this imagination will be developed with regard to the social customs, the history of the area, its look, the institutions, (government, education, family, religion, industry), which formed the immeasurable template of the people and their Hill."

Five months of preparation went into the first Hill Day, which was held on August 15, 1965. Fireworks, decorative floats, assorted handicraft items, tours of salami factories, entertainment, tortellini, beer, Italian dancing, costumes, and Lupini beans were among the many attractions that brought over 80,000 people to The Hill. Hill Day served as an opportunity to show the people of St. Louis and of The Hill what they have and to create an awareness of the unique qualities of the community.

Hill Day was held again the following year and was then discontinued until 1970, when it became an annual summer event through 1974. No outside companies participate in Hill Day. It is strictly a community project carried out by the community through the organization of Hill 2000. Hill Day promotes not only an ethnic identification but also a strong community spirit and financial base.

Proceeds from the Hill Days helped Hill 2000 renovate an old barbershop at 5123 Shaw Avenue and convert it into its neighborhood headquarters. Although the organization provides various community services, its major function is to maintain and keep up the neighborhood. As stated in Article III, section 3, of the organization's by-laws: "The major function of the Hill 2000 shall include but not be limited to: the acquisition and redevelopment of properties, the construction of new housing, and the rehabilitation of existing properties."

The Hill Housing Education Corporation, which was established as a branch of Hill 2000 in 1974, helps finance residential renovations on The Hill. Funds will be generated from future Hill Days and other neighborhood sources. An individual who is over twenty-one years of age and who owns property or resides on The Hill is eligible for a 10 per cent grant for any permanent home improvements in excess of \$500. This incentive should reinforce the sense of pride already prevalent on The Hill.

Well, it wasn't the house that attracted me to The Hill. My house is nothing to speak of; if you want to compare it to our friends, the wife and I, a couple of our friends live in \$50,000 and \$60,000 homes. They have more rooms than they know what to do with. It's an envious position when you hear this - you'd like to have something like this - but as I say, my house is nothing to look at, although we intend to fix it up and to do what we want to do with it. I feel the home isn't as important as the neighborhood. For instance, we have a nursery school at the end of the block. We live four houses from the corner. Berra Park is a half a block away from the house. It has the ball fields, the swings, the sliding boards, the whole bit. Two blocks away is the Catholic church and school. We have Missouri Bakery, which my wife really cares about. There's everything here that you need... It's not only the neighborhood, it's the atmosphere; it's the people on The Hill that make it such a good place. (H-20)

And so a series of threats to the neighborhood (both from within and without) plus the unexpected response to the first and subsequent Hill Days, gave birth to a new ethnic consciousness and a deep neighborhood pride.

... we have in St. Louis and right here in the Southside, an example of a neighborhood that is not only holding its own but one whose property values are moving up. The Hill is an example of what people, a church, a clergy, a group of local businessmen can do acting together to make a neighborhood a good place where people care about their houses, the appearance of their streets and, above all, about each other. Hill 2000, by helping strong young families to acquire housing, by helping young and old to find jobs, has made The Hill quite literally a neighborhood cooperative to advance the well-being of the people who live there.²⁷

The neighborhood is a tribute to its people who, throughout the years, have worked together to make The Hill their home. The history of this cooperation is marked by settlement, consolidation, withdrawal, decline and resurgence; prejudice, threat and economic uncertainty are countered by effort, ingenuity and fidelity. Today, The Hill flourishes. Tomorrow holds the promise that future generations will continue to share in the traditions and spirit of the community.



credit: Angela Walsh

Politics

The political history of The Hill is very important to understanding the development of the community. The Hill was originally part of the city's old 24th Ward, the largest in the nation, bounded by Oakland on the north, Kingshighway on the east, Gravois on the south, and the city limits on the west. By 1920, the 24th Ward had more people living in it than the entire state of New Mexico had voters. As The Hill and the rest of southwest St. Louis grew in population, the importance of The Hill to the political "machines" increased.

During the early twentieth century, St. Louis was a Republican stronghold, and the first political affiliations on The Hill were Republican. The Republican leader on The Hill was Joe Gioia, the owner of Gioia's Hall at Edwards and Pattison, who developed a well-organized political following. Although The Hill remained predominantly Republican well into the 1920's, the influences and strengths of the Democratic party began in the 1920's because largely the Democrats had been opposed to prohibition. By the 1930's, in the midst of the Depression, the entire community was unquestionably Democratic, and Fairmount and the Democratic Club had become the political power base of the community.

The Fairmount Democratic Club was organized at 1920 Marconi Street in 1921 by Louis "Gene" Gualdoni, a young man who had been involved with the Democrats since 1912. No civil service requirements hampered the distribution of patronage jobs, and the Fairmount Democratic Club was soon influential in obtaining jobs for community residents. The St. Ambrose Fortieth Anniversary Book describes the situation:

... and the other boys who through the efforts of Louis 'Gene' Gualdoni were employed in various offices, both municipal and state, such as the Excise Commissioner's Office, Internal Revenue, Marshall's, Election Commissioner's, Sheriff's Weights and Measures, Tax Collector, Secretary of State, State Auditor's, State Treasurer's ...

Mr. Gualdoni controlled the Democratic Club until 1926. During these years he was influential in bringing the Chief Clerk of the U. S. District Court of St. Louis to come to the club once a week to teach the old-timers in the neighborhood about the U. S. government so they could pass their citizenship tests. The Fairmount Democratic Club also sponsored a soccer team which won the Municipal Soccer League Championship in 1924-25. In 1926 the club moved its headquarters, first to 5141 Daggett and then to 5249 Shaw. The Club remained at the Shaw location until a 1930 fire forced another move to 5208 Shaw, next to Big Club Hall.

Mr. Gualdoni was elected ten different times to the State Democratic Committee and served six times as a delegate to the national convention. He was also influential in bringing Louis "Midge" Berra into the political arena. Like Gualdoni, "Midge" became involved with the Democrats as a young man, first as a precinct captain and, later, as chairman of the Fairmount Democratic Club. In 1939, with the help of Gene Gualdoni, Midge became the alderman from the 24th Ward. During the 1930's and 1940's the headquarters of the Democratic Club was open every Friday night. Mr. Gualdoni and Mr. Berra, along with all the men they had placed in various city offices, answered questions and offered assistance whenever possible.

The ward boss was a very important man to Hill residents because politics was one of The Hill's few avenues of communication with the city at large. He helped Italian residents to enter the American system with citizenship papers, and he secured city and other political jobs for the residents of the community. Because of this ability to help, a strong political solidarity developed on The Hill, and the 24th Ward became a reliable district for the downtown machine on election day.

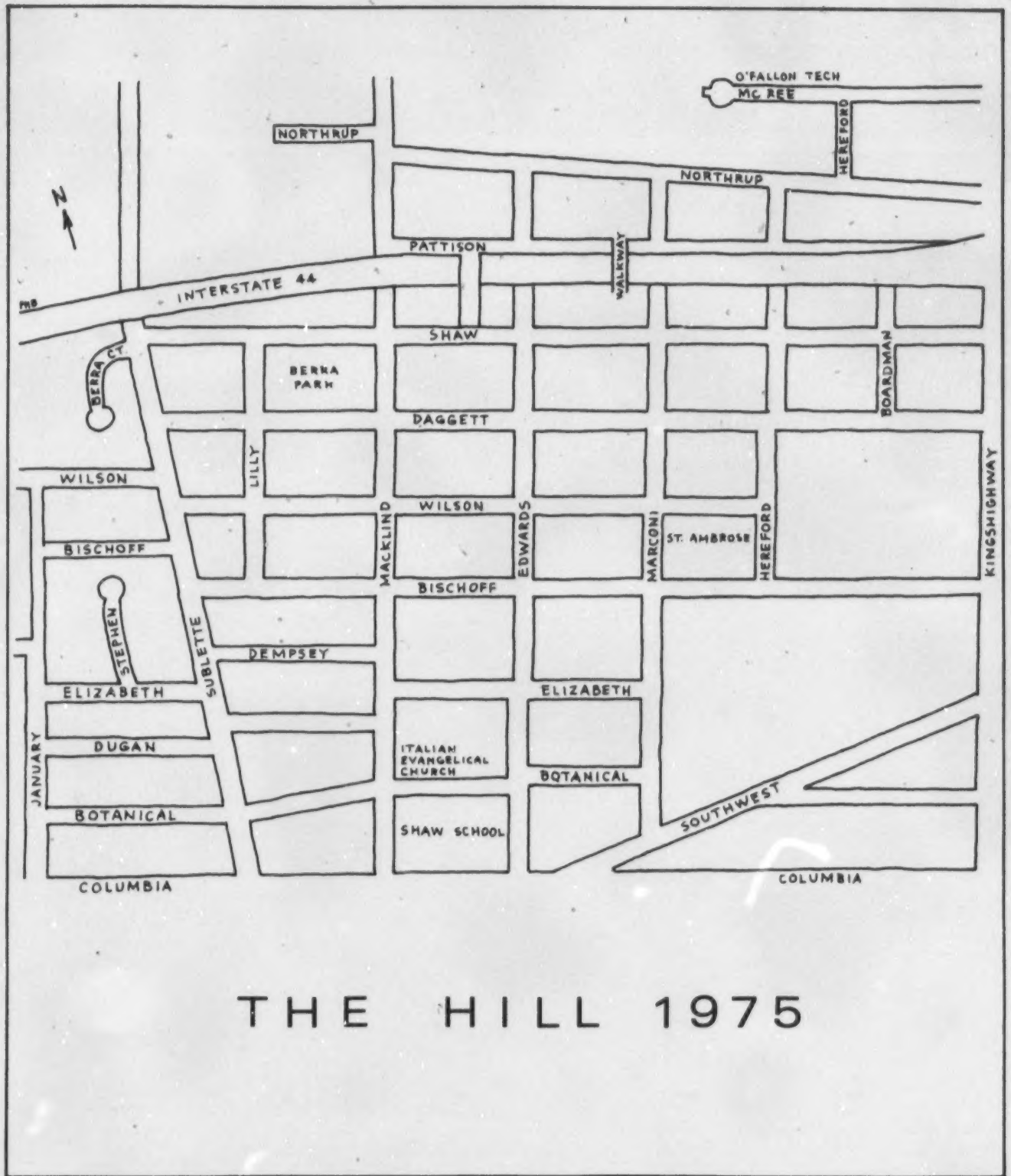
In 1941 Mr. Berra, who was very much interested in the young people of The Hill, was instrumental in organizing the 24th Ward Democratic Juniors Club. "Midge" allowed the boys to use the Democratic Club headquarters as a clubhouse. The members, seventeen and eighteen years old, were from all over the neighborhood and assisted the neighborhood political leaders in their duties.

Midge Berra emerged as The Hill's strongest political representative. He secured a large number of jobs for community residents and did much to better the area. He was regarded with great respect and deep loyalty. The relationship between Midge and the community is evident from newspaper articles:

Midge pulled strings which controlled scores of patronage jobs and delivered the vote in some precincts by margins of 700 to 3 and 450 to 2.²⁸

You know, many people thought Midge Berra was the President of the United States. He found them jobs when they couldn't speak English, he found them homes. Everything was absolutely Midge.²⁹

The Berra name and influence remain strong forces in the political life of the city today. In the community park which bears his name, the statue of Louis "Midge" Berra symbolizes the place he holds in the hearts of the people he served for twenty-five years as city alderman.





credit: R. A. Faber

The research for this booklet was conducted by graduate and undergraduate students and community members under the sponsorship of the Social Science Institute at Washington University through a grant from the Division of International Education, the United States Office of Education, under the Ethnic Heritage Studies Act of 1974-75.

The purpose of the booklet is twofold: to train students to understand and use the wealth of cultural materials on this American urban neighborhood, The Hill, and to provide a booklet for the use of students and community members about the historic life of this community. This is an ongoing study. It is the intention of the authors that this is an unfinished book to which additions will be made as new information is collected.

The research was conducted through field methods which include participant observation in the community, analysis of historical documents about the community, survey research conducted among a random sample of residents, open-ended interviews with community leaders, and the tape recording of oral histories with three generations of community residents.

Participant observation in the community was conducted by undergraduate and graduate students at Washington University who attended community functions, visited community restaurants, mapped the paths of activity in the community, and catalogued the commercial and institutional life of the area by visiting every commercial and institutional setting. Participant observation is a method which gives recognition to the constant interplay between the role of the observer and the activity of the participant. Students developed strong identifications with neighborhood residents, although they were recognized as outsiders.

The analysis of historical documents included the use of census data from 1910 to 1970, the compilation of vital statistics from churches and institutions, the examination of written histories

and letters, and the extensive use of newspapers. In each community, local newspapers and the publications of ethnic groups were valuable resources for the understanding of the ethnic heritage of the communities. In some cases, land use maps and city planning documents were important resources for the study of community boundary designations and the property use changes in the communities.

Three types of interviewing were used in this study. The open-ended interview was used by students who talked to community leaders to gain a greater understanding of the issues which were important in the community over time. These interviews were conducted to give the respondent the greatest range of topics so that the student could learn about the community without a pre-set conception. The second type of interview technique was the oral history. Oral histories were structured from an agenda of questions to gain information about the community in 1900, in 1920, and in 1950. Whenever possible, three generations in the same family were interviewed. Unlike newspaper and institutional documents, the oral histories were designed to record the daily life of the families who make up the community, not necessarily the leaders or prominent citizens. The oral histories were taped. Excerpts from them appear in the text of the booklet. They are coded with the designation of the tape which is available from the Ethnic Heritage Data Bank at the St. Louis Public Library. The final interview technique was a questionnaire made up of a set of questions which allow the respondent limited choices. The limited response questionnaire was used to gain information on a limited number of questions from a random sample of respondents.

Through the use of a variety of research methods the students have compiled a picture of a community over time and a record of the ethnic heritage of the people who create the community. This is an ongoing history to be enriched by each additional contribution.

FOOTNOTES

The designations (H-1) through (H-20) refer to the oral history tapes which students recorded during the neighborhood study. H stands for The Hill; the numbering system refers to the tape record which is available at the libraries of Washington University and the University of Missouri, St. Louis.

1. Giovanni Schiavo, *The Italians in Missouri*. Chicago, Illinois: Italian American Publishing Company, 1929, p. 51.
2. Elmer S. Wood, *Fairmount Heights, An Italian Immigrant Colony in St. Louis*. Washington University, unpublished masters thesis, 1936, p. 20.
3. Boris Block and H. Roger Grant, "French Icarians in St. Louis," *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, October 1973:3-28.
4. St. James Church, "The History of Cheltenham and St. James Church," 1937.
5. *Fairmount Heights, An Italian Immigrant Colony in St. Louis*, p. 20.
6. *The Italians in Missouri*, p. 56.
7. Ruth Crawford, *The Immigrant in St. Louis*. St. Louis, Missouri: School of Social Work Press, 1916, p. 21.
8. *Italians in Missouri*, p. 65.
9. Dominic J. Cunetto, *Italian Language Theater Clubs in St. Louis, Missouri-1910 to 1950*. Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press, 1960, p. 13.
10. St. Ambrose Parish, "Fortieth Anniversary Book," St. Louis, Missouri, Borgiano Brothers, 1943, p. 21.
11. Grace Keating, *A Story in the Americanization of the Italian Immigrant in That District of Southwest St. Louis Popularly Known as the Hill*. St. Louis, Missouri: St. Louis University Press, 1935, pp. 55-56.
12. *Chart of Italian Owned Businesses-1930:*
 - 21 Confectionaries
 - 19 Grocery Stores
 - 13 Saloons
 - 9 Barber Shops
 - 5 "Blind"
 - 4 Shoe Repair
 - 4 Filling Stations
 - 2 Meat Markets
 - 3 Pool halls
 - 3 Sheet Metal
 - 3 Bakeries
 - 3 Shoe Stores
 - 2 Hardware
 - 2 Cleaners
 - 1 Undertaker
 - 1 Bank
 - 1 Real Estate
 - 1 Interior Decorator
 - 1 Radio Shop
 - 1 Florist
 - 2 Bottling Works
 - 1 Chemical Company
 - 1 Important Jobber of Olive Oil
 - 2 Macaroni & Spaghetti Factories
 - 1 Packing Company
- 113 Total
13. *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, June 23, 1963.
14. *Hill 2000 Bulletin*, Vol. 4, No. 8, October 1974, St. Louis, Missouri: Hill 2000 Corporation, p. 4.
15. *St. Louisan Magazine*, September, 1974, p. 38-39. This statement was made by Mr. Louis Amignetti.
16. *Hill Day 1972*, Hill 2000, St. Louis, Missouri, p. 3.
17. St. Ambrose Parish, "Fortieth Anniversary Book," St. Louis, Missouri, 1943.
18. "Urban Decay in St. Louis," The Institute for Urban and Regional Studies, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri. Working Paper #10, March, 1972.
19. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 1, 1953.
20. *St. Louisan*, September, 1974, pp. 38-39.
21. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 9, 1941.
22. *Star Times*, unidentified article, Missouri Historical Sports, Vol. 8, pp. 1 and 2.
23. Constitution and By-Laws, Professional Businessmen's Club of the Hill.
24. Father Salvatore Polizzi in his speech given to the Catholic Conference on Ethnicity and Neighborhood, Cleveland, Ohio, June, 1974.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. *Hill Day 1972*, Hill 2000 Publication, St. Louis, Missouri, 1972, p. 15. (This statement was made by Dr. Norton Long, Director of the Center for Metropolitan Studies at the University of Missouri, St. Louis.)
29. St. Ambrose Church, "Fortieth Anniversary Book," St. Louis, Missouri, 1943.



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